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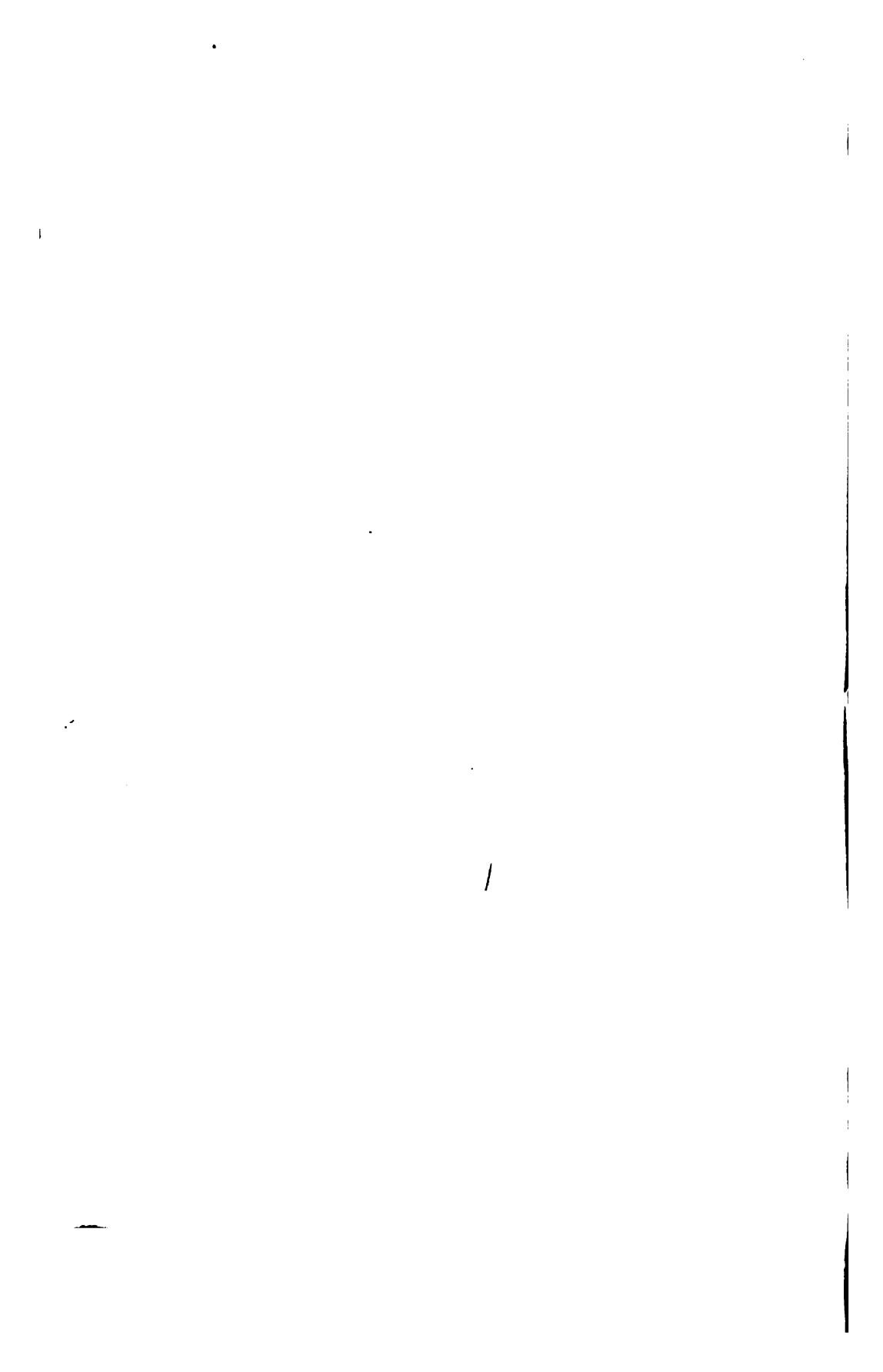
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ORESTES A. BROWNSON'S
MIDDLE LIFE:

FROM 1845 TO 1855.

II.

BY

HENRY F. BROWNSON.

DETROIT, MICH.
H. F. BROWNSON, PUBLISHER.
1899.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I. CONTROVERSY WITH PROTESTANTS,	I
II. CONTROVERSY WITH CATHOLICS,—NEWMAN,	34
III. SHAW,—GLOVER,—MCMASTER,	63
IV. TONE TOWARDS PROTESTANTS,—NO SALVATION OUT OF THE CHURCH,—NATIVE-AMERICANISM,—KENRICK,—THE BISHOPS AT BALTIMORE COMMEND THE REVIEW,	91
V. THE JESUITS,—CUMMINGS,—HASKINS,—MILES, MCCAFFREY,—RODDAN,—SHANDY MC-GUIRE.	121
VI. THE CATHOLIC PRESS,—CONVERSION OF BROWN- SON'S OLDEST SON,—PURCELL,—KENRICK, —MCCAFFREY,—MAJOR,—NEW YORK LECTURES,—CUMMINGS.	153
VII. THE CATHOLIC OBSERVER,—THE AMERICAN REVIEW,—SOCIALISM,—W. H. CHANNING, —GREENE,—MATAPHYSICS,—THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,—MONTREAL AND QUEBEC,— PHILADELPHIA.	197
VIII. WEBSTER,—THE COMMON LAW,—AMERICAN LITERATURE,—DANA,—LOWELL,—EMERSON,—BANCROFT,—HAWTHORNE,—COOPER, —PARKMAN,—RELIGIOUS NOVELS,—GRANTLEY MANOR,—TEMPERANCE,—CHINQUY,— HECKER,	240
IX. SLAVERY,—THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW,— SEWARD'S HIGHER LAW,—PARKER,— CUBAN EXPEDITIONS,	✓ 278
X. THE FRENCH REPUBLIC OF 1848,—MONTALEMBERT,	315

CONTENTS.

XI. LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS,—BALTIMORE,—MONTREAL,	340
XII. THE MERCERSBURY SCHOOL,—THE TRACTARIAN SCHOOL,	360
XIII. HUNTINGTON,—DONOSO CORTES,—KOSSUTH,—NAPOLEON III,—MONTALEMBERT,—O'CONNOR,	398
XIV. SHEPHERD OF THE VALLEY,—GARESCHE,—FREEMAN'S JOURNAL,—L'UNIVERS,—A NEW CONSTITUTION SUBMITTED IN MASSACHUSETTS,—INVITATION TO LECTURE IN THE IRISH UNIVERSITY,	438
XV. BROWNSON ASSERTS THE SUPREMACY OF THE SPIRITUAL ORDER, AND IS OPPOSED BY O'CONNOR AND PURCELL,—THOSE WHO STOOD BY HIM,	485
XVI. THE KNOW-NOTHINGS,—BROWNSON'S POLICY TO DEFEAT THEM,—EVANGELICALS,—THE CATHOLIC MIRROR,—MITCHEL,—BANKS,—CHANDLER,—McCLINTOCK,—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE POWER OF THE POPE,—O'CONNOR ON THE BULL INEFFABILIS DEUS,—SOME FOREIGNERS AGREE WITH BROWNSON,	528
XVII. BROWNSON DEFENDS AGAINST KNOW-NOTHINGS HIS RIGHT TO BE A CATHOLIC, AND AGAINST CATHOLICS HIS RIGHT TO BE AN AMERICAN,	567
XVIII. NEW ORLEANS,—MOBILE,—CINCINNATI,—EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,—PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS,—CHANGE OF RESIDENCE FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK.	607
INDEX,	643

BROWNSON'S MIDDLE LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

CONTROVERSY WITH PROTESTANTS.

IN a previous volume* it has been related how Orestes A. Brownson, born and bred among strict Protestants, was, on reaching man's estate, led to renounce the communion of the sects, and to reject all belief in supernatural revelation; how little by little he began to feel the want of some religion; how he adopted and preached one of his own devising, till his politics, his philosophy, and his theology brought him to knock at the door of the Catholic Church, which was opened to him by Bishop Fitzpatrick at Boston, in October, 1844.

For some months before Brownson applied to the Bishop of Boston for instruction in the faith he had discontinued preaching. His only means of providing for his large family was the income from his lectures and from Brownson's Quarterly Review, of which Review he was both editor and proprietor. This Review had always discussed questions of philosophy, politics, and general literature; but its character was as much theological and religious as it was political or literary or philosophical.

*Brownson's Early Life.

The question then arose in his mind whether he should continue the Review, eliminating from its pages all theological discussion, or seek a livelihood from some other occupation. He was conscious of how little he knew of Catholic theology. At the time that he applied to the Bishop of Boston for religious instruction, he had read no Catholic books except Milner's "End of Controversy" and the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and these only partially. He had never seen and conversed with an intelligent Catholic on the subject of religion the value of one hour in his whole life; and of course, could have known very little of what Catholicity really was. He guessed at its leading doctrines from his knowledge of the Protestant doctrines opposed to them; and though he often guessed aright, he not seldom blundered. He believed that our Lord was the son of God, that he lived and died for our salvation, and had established a church to continue his work, to teach all things which he had commanded her, and he knew enough history to know that that church was no other than the one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic church. Knowing this, he was prepared to accept whatever doctrines that church should propose to him to be believed. The few months he had been under instruction sufficed for the acquiring of so much of Catholic doctrine as was necessary for baptism, but by no means enough to fit him for the position of a Catholic teacher.

He determined, therefore, not to discuss matters pertaining to religion in the Review and as the Review, without religious discussion, would be strange and perhaps unwelcome to his old readers, and still

stranger and more unsatisfactory to himself, he was inclined to take up the profession of law, for which he had nearly, if not quite, all the necessary qualifications, in which he had every reason to expect success, and which he might, should he so desire, make the stepping-stone to political advancement.

When Fitzpatrick was informed of this intention he was very decided in his opposition, both on account of his interest in Brownson and of his desires in relation to the church. He believed Brownson likely to win great success at the bar, but what, he asked, would it amount to after all? One who had led so many astray could only make reparation and atone for the evil done by devoting his life to spreading the truth which God had mercifully led him to confess. The best service he could render to his country was to labor for its conversion. The bishop was attached to this, the land of his birth, and its constitution, and saw that Catholic faith and practice were all that were needed to make this country the most prosperous and beneficent on earth. He did not look upon our republican form of government as repugnant to Catholic principles, or opposed to the maxims of the gospel; but he knew that of all forms of government the republican or democratic requires the most religious practice of the sublime virtues of Christianity, and that only the virtue which perfects man, and lifts his aim to the supreme good, and the light of nature strengthened by the teaching of the gospel, can furnish a solid foundation for the republic.

The bishop was also aware that he had an earnest and bold champion for Catholicity all ready for the fight;

and one was needed at that time. The mass of the Catholics in the eastern states were immigrant laborers, looked down on with contempt or hatred by the native population; in danger of violence and mobs; their churches and convents set on fire; whilst the descendants of Catholic-American families timidly aimed to talk and act in such way that their Catholicity should be lost sight of, or at least forgiven if not forgotten. The sectarian journals were unrestrained in their hostility to Catholics and their religion, often misrepresenting both, whether from ignorance or from malice. Here was a field suited to Brownson and Brownson's Review.

A systematic study of Catholic doctrine was Fitzpatrick's first requirement. For this purpose he chose Billuart's *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, which he set Brownson to reading, the Bishop being the teacher. After that came St. Thomas's own *Summa Theologica*; and then some of St. Augustine's Works. Fitzpatrick was an admirable master in theology. He knew his matter, could explain it clearly, was calm and authoritative in his exposition, and sound in his views. He even went so far to the safe side as to forbid not only innovation in doctrine, but even in exposition and defence of truth. The effect of this extreme conservatism of the Bishop's was to force Brownson, for the eleven years that he wrote under Fitzpatrick's supervision, to ignore the principal line of argument by which he had himself been influenced, and to restrict himself almost wholly to the arguments generally used by controversialists. These arguments were forcibly and clearly put, and were unanswerable, indeed; but the most usual effect of such controversy is to silence an

opponent rather than to convert him. Brownson's main purpose was the conversion of those outside of the fold to the Catholic faith; the bishop desired their conversion, though not very hopefully; but was intent on stopping the anti-Catholic fury of the Protestant journals. Brownson took the course marked out for him by the bishop, and to some extent used the instruments he prescribed. But no one well read in the controversies that have been going on for nearly four centuries between Catholics and Protestants will deny that even on the Catholic side there is something lacking of the strength, the earnestness, and the success of the early fathers. Every age has its work to do and has the strength, and the materials for doing that work, if it will but use them. In the middle ages, when Europe was nominally Catholic, there was hardly a truth of philosophy or theology that was not set forth and defended in one form or another, and scarcely an objection against our religion that was not strongly stated and refuted in the schools. But these truths were set forth, and these objections refuted for scholars, and for the Catholic rather than the Acatholic mind; and the discussion was often more similar to the exhibition of the joust or tournament than a battle for life or death in real warfare.

Luther and his contemporaries brought the discussion of the profoundest theological questions out from the schools where they knew that their novelties would be rejected when judged by professional theologians according to the rules of theological science, and appealed to an unprofessional public, or from science to ignorance. The result has been the destruc-

tion of theological science among Protestants, the rejection of the definitions and distinctions of scholastic theology, and the substitution for the mysteries of faith of a vague sentiment and a few propositions of natural religion. The Catholic controversialist must now be prepared to go before a fickle, impatient audience, incapable of following long chains of syllogistic reasoning, and constantly growing more so, and argue his cause against an adversary only intent on gaining a verdict, and ready to resort to false assertions and false reasoning whenever such may suit his purpose, and to reiterate objections and calumnies that have been a hundred times refuted.

Moreover, Protestants have no principles which they are obliged, as one body, to maintain. There is not an article of Protestantism which some eminent Protestant has not yielded, nor a Catholic doctrine he has not defended. It is generally supposed that Protestantism professes two fundamental principles, each essential to its very existence, namely,—1st, the Bible is the original and only source of Christian faith, and 2nd, the Bible is to be taken on and interpreted by private judgment. These principles, or rules, are incompatible one with another; and as the Bible so interpreted, is nothing more than simply private judgment, the only principle left for Protestantism to stand on is mere private judgment or individual opinion, which varies with every Protestant.

If the more reputable sects were the real bulwarks of Protestantism, and there were no lower depths to which the Anglican and Episcopal sects could retreat, when driven from their more elevated position, there

would be little difficulty in the case. But the real strength of Protestantism is in the most advanced sects, those which have moved furthest from Catholicity, and nearest to the natural terminus to which the dominant tendency of the Protestant world leads, and that is rationalism, transcendentalism, pantheism, atheism, nihilism, agnosticism. Even men who are up to the level of their age in science and erudition admit, at best, only the natural-supernatural order, and seek to explain all the phenomena of man's religious life by means of what may be termed natural, as distinguished from Christian, mysticism. If so-called orthodox Protestants profess to hold some things that are also held by Catholics, it is not by virtue of their Protestantism, but in spite of it that they so hold, and they will give up, or consent to hold those doctrines simply as opinions having no objective validity, rather than abandon the Protestant movement. Hence it follows that there are and can be no questions debatable between Catholics and Protestants but such as pertain exclusively to the province of reason. If reason finds sufficient evidence that God has instituted a church to teach all nations whatsoever he has revealed, it pronounces her infallible, and acknowledges its obligation to accept, without questioning, whatever she teaches.

Brownson was satisfied that his doctrine of life and of communion which had led him to the threshold of the church was in no way incompatible with any Catholic principle or doctrine; and though as a truth of philosophy it could not bridge over the gulf between the natural and the supernatural, it did, better than any other philosophical doctrine, show the harmony between

the natural and the supernatural, and remove those obstacles to the reception of the church, and her doctrines on her authority, which all intelligent and thinking men brought up outside of the church in these days do really encounter.

At Fitzpatrick's dictation, Brownson suppressed his philosophic theory, and by that suppression was placed in a false position towards his former friends. His readers had seen well enough whither he was tending and were not surprised to find him professing himself a Catholic. The doctrine which he had brought out, and which they had followed, appeared to them as it did to him, to authorize his action, and probably not a few of them were making up their minds to follow him; but they were thrown all aback the first time they heard him speaking as a Catholic, by finding him defending his conversion on grounds of which he had given no public intimation, and which seemed wholly unconnected with those he had published. Unable to perceive any logical or intellectual connection between his last utterances before entering the church and his first utterances afterwards, they looked upon his conversion, after all, as a sudden caprice, or rash act taken from a momentary impulse or in a fit of intellectual despair, for which he had in reality no good reason to offer. So they turned away in disgust, and refused to trouble themselves any longer with the reasonings of one on whom so little reliance could be placed, and who could act without any rational motive for his action.*

*This matter is explained at greater length in Brownson's Works, Vol. v., pp. 165-175.

Suppressing, then, his own method, he adopted the usual method so satisfactory to those who already believe all the conclusions to be proved, and which he confessed he had never found effectual in the case of any Acatholic not already disposed to become a Catholic, or actually, in his belief, on the way to the church.

The first questions, therefore, were, whether Christ actually established a church with authority to teach, and, if so, whether that church was the Catholic or some other church. The particular doctrines held by Catholics as Catholics he neither held nor believed he could establish independently of the authority of the church teaching them. When it became necessary in the course of the argument to defend any revealed doctrine, he set it forth with clearness and precision, and showed its consistency with reason and with the entire system of Catholic truth; but did not claim for it any authority beyond that of the church teaching it. As far as possible he sought to put Protestantism on its defence; but much of his controversial writing was devoted to the answering of objections brought against the church. To many the speculations and sophistries of the enemies of the church seem formidable; but Brownson said he could see through their hollowness, and to him they were a little stale. It had been with a full knowledge of their exegesis, their criticism, their theories, their speculations, systems, ideas, pretensions, that he yielded his mind and his heart to the Catholic Church. He had tried them all, found them wanting, before he came into the church, and could feel no great respect for, or confidence in them; yet their exposure was highly necessary. In this exposure he said that

he made it a point of honor and of conscience to represent the views and arguments of his opponents fairly, and to reply to them in the same manner. "Many a man may find in our pages his objections to our views put in a clearer and stronger light than he had himself put them. We make it a rule to meet an opponent in his strength, not in his weakness, and answer his objections in their real meaning, without any chicanery, or the substitution of any false or collateral issue. We write never to win a victory, but always to elicit, defend, or recommend the truth, and we cannot understand how a Christian, or even a man who respects himself, can do otherwise; yet, we have rarely met a man who, in arguing against Catholicity, consents to meet the question on its merits. There is less, both of candor and clear, sharp intelligence in popular writers, and even writers of reputation, than is commonly supposed. Some of the criticisms of our own religious friends, as well as enemies, confirm us in this. There are few men who can write without prejudice, fewer still, perhaps, who can go at once to the heart of a question, and seize vividly and firmly the principle on which it hinges." *

The policy of such Catholic writers as had taken part in controversy with Protestants in this country before Brownson's conversion, had been to assume an apologetic tone and to labor to explain away as far as possible the doctrines most offensive to Acatholics or lukewarm Catholics, and to answer objections drawn from ecclesiastical history on a low ground; because, as long as the Catholic body was small, the main object aimed at was

* Brownson's Works, Vol. vii., p. 455.

their defence against Acatholics, and the formation of the public sentiment of the Catholic community was only a secondary consideration. Brownson's object, in which he was upheld by Fitzpatrick and others with whom he took counsel, was to impart a freer and more elevated tone to Catholic thought and discussion, and to put those who objected to the church and her doctrines, or to the papacy and its prerogatives, on their defence ; to bring out these doctrines in their strongest form and assume the highest Catholic ground. It was thought, when he was called to continue his Review, that Catholic questions might and should be thenceforth discussed with reference to the Catholic as well as the Acatholic community ; and it was believed that the higher the tone of Catholics, the more salutary would be their influence in checking the destructive radicalism of the country, and the more advantageous it would be in the long run to the cause of Catholic truth.

That this course was wise and salutary is not to be questioned ; but, again, Brownson was put in an unpleasant, if not a false position, not, this time, so much with his old friends as with a part of the Catholic community, who thought he went too far, and availed themselves of the first favorable opportunity to try to weaken his influence. Yet, on the other hand, nearly all the bishops and a great majority of the other clergy looked with favor on his course, and exerted their influence to increase the circulation of his Review, and to make his lectures successful.

In continuing Brownson's Review as a Catholic periodical, the editor devoted his labor for several years chiefly to controversy. His old friends, Emerson,

Theodore Parker, W. H. Channing, Sarah Margaret Fuller, James Freeman Clarke, *The Christian Register*, and *The Christian Examiner*, received much attention from him, while Bishop Hopkins, Theodore Jouffroy, Richard Hildreth, Dr. S. F. Jarvis, James H. Thornwell, Horace Bushnell, *The Methodist Review*, *The Episcopal Observer*, *The Mercersburg and Edinburgh Reviews* were also opposed for unchristian or anti-catholic doctrines.

In his Review for October, 1844, Brownson had sufficiently refuted the pretensions of the High-Church Episcopalian; * in the number for January, 1845, in the article on *The British Reformation*,† he proceeded to refute Low-Churchism. The Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Hopkins, of Vermont, had, in August, 1844, requested Brownson to give a fair and candid reading to his Lectures on the British Reformation, and if they failed in justifying the principles of that reformation, it would, he said, gratify him to have his error shown.‡ Brownson endeavored to give him the desired gratification in the article on *The British Reformation*, in which he shows that on the grounds assumed by the Bishop, the British Reformers are not cleared of the charge of schism, that the establishment they founded is not a living member of Christ's body,

* *The Anglican Church Schismatic*, Brownson's Works, Vol. iv., p. 567.

† Works, Vol. vi., p. 568.

‡ See the letter referred to, in Brownson's Early Life, p. 468. Hopkins was by no means so diffident of his ability in other cases as he makes himself out in this letter. Six or eight years previously he had written a book in which "the Church of Rome, at the present day, is compared with the Church of Rome in her primitive purity," and addressed it "to the Roman Hierarchy." It was this book which drew from Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, his great work on "The Primacy of the Apostolic See," written in 1837.

that they acted without authority, broke the unity of faith, and they and their successors are guilty, not only of usurping an honor to which they have not been called of God, and not only of breaking the unity of the orthodox faith and the Lord's body; but of leading others astray, teaching them to do the same, confirming them in their error, and perilling their salvation. In conclusion, the Reformers were invited to send forward a champion with some solid principle on which their defence may be grounded. Hopkins's next attempt at controversy with Catholics was made ten years later, when he produced "The End of Controversy Converted," in a series of letters addressed to his former adversary, Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, challenging him to refute them. Kenrick's refutation is the well-known "Vindication of the Catholic Church."*

In April, 1845, Brownson refuted no-churchism, or the doctrine which admits the church in name, but denies it in fact, and which the more Protestant sects were tending to, or had arrived at. The article was entitled, "The Church against No-Church,"† and it contains an argument which the writer had found very effective in his own experience. Assuming that our Lord had made us a revelation which, in order to be saved, it is necessary to believe and obey, he demonstrated that the Catholic Church must be accepted as the Church of God, divinely commissioned to teach and govern all men and nations in all things pertaining to

* From this work we learn that the "Letters on the British Reformation" were first intended to be delivered as lectures in the Episcopal Churches of Philadelphia, but the Protestant Diocesan refusing to allow Hopkins to deliver them, he gave them through the press.

† Works, Vol. v., p. 331.

eternal salvation. Critics, both Unitarian and Episcopalian, pronounced the argument incomplete, inconclusive, and wholly unsatisfactory, because he took the fact of revelation for granted, and did not prove it before proceeding to reason from it. The objection would have been pertinent enough in one who denied the fact of revelation, but was not so in the mouth of a professed Christian; because every Christian believes that God has made us a revelation, and no one can be a Christian at all without believing so much at least. As he addressed his argument expressly only to those who professed to believe that God has made us a revelation, the criticism was unjust, in that it blamed him for not proving what he had not undertaken to prove. Yet the criticism is instructive, and proves that the mass of those outside of the church will, if hard pushed, fall back on the no-religion of unbelievers. Hence, whenever one undertakes to prove the church affirmatively, or to establish affirmatively her title, one must carry the argument far enough back to meet the wants of unbelievers, of those who deny everything that it is possible to deny without denying denial itself.

It is not my purpose to enumerate here all the reviewer's controversial articles, still less to give a synopsis of each; but a word or two about the more elaborate series on Bushnell, Derby, and Thornwell may not be without use or interest.

The articles against Bushnell* have not only a value in a controversial way, but will contribute greatly to an intelligent notion of the Catholic doctrine concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemp-

* Works, vol. vii., pp. 1-116.

tion; and even theological students have acknowledged the aid they obtained from them. The articles on Derby's letters to his son* were written at Mr. Derby's request, or rather, on his challenge. For, one day that Brownson was in John P. Healy's office, Derby, whose office was on the same floor of the building,† came in with his book, then first published, and handing it to Brownson, said: "There! Refute that if you can." Brownson did refute it most thoroughly, and what is more to be rejoiced at, the son, whose conversion to Catholicity the father used every argument within his reach to prevent, continued to follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit leading him to his church.

The Reverend James H. Thornwell, Professor of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity in South Carolina College, published an essay against the divine inspiration of those Books of the Bible which Protestants denominate Apocryphal. This was replied to by the Reverend Dr. Patrick N. Lynch in "The Catholic Miscellany," of which he was one of the editors, and Thornwell followed with twenty-nine letters covering nearly the whole ground of controversy between Catholics and Protestants. The original essay, with the substance of Lynch's articles, and the twenty-nine letters, were put into a book, and published about the beginning of January, 1845. As the argument on the Presbyterian side was conducted with much ability and learning, it aroused great interest with all denominations in the Palmetto State. Two of the letters to Brownson, one from a Catholic, and the other not, will show the importance attached to the book:

* *Ibid.*, pp. 335-479.

† 46 Court street, Boston.

NEWBERRY C. H., South Carolina, }
January 21, 1845. }

O. A. Brownson, Boston:

DEAR SIR:—Since my personal acquaintance with you in September, 1841, in your goodly [city], I have watched with intense anxiety your every movement, and rest assured that that interest has not at all diminished since your avowal of belief in the doctrines of the Faith of the Catholics. I have been examining, though only partially, not thoroughly, the distinctive characteristics of Catholicism and Protestantism, for about eighteen months past, and were there no other modes of faith than Protestant—those styled orthodox—and Catholic, I should not hesitate long between the two: for, as at present advised, I should prefer the much abused, in this country, faith of the Catholics. I have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Bishop Reynolds of Charleston, and Dr. Lynch also, and from them I have derived much information which has thrown great light on my mind with respect to subjects that were hitherto quite obscure.

You, perhaps, are aware that about a year since a controversy originated in this State in relation to the Apocryphal Books, between Dr. Lynch and Professor Thornwell of South Carolina College. Thornwell has completed his task and published it in book form, labelled on the back of the volume: "Arguments of Romanists discussed and refuted." The work is regarded by the Presbyterians of this State as a complete overthrow of the whole system of the Catholic Doctrine. I have read a portion of the book, and though he is as able as a man can be, on his side, yet there is a spirit

of bitterness and rancour perhaps which can only be justifiable on the supposition that he is fully satisfied that the Catholics are involved in gross and damning error. I bring your attention to this book—for I am anxious that you should examine it and review it in your Review. It would be gratifying to many of your friends, were you to do so; and to me especially. I wrote to Messrs. Little & Brown, of your city, a few days since, to procure the book and present it to you for me. If you have not one, be so good as to call on them and get it, and if you should, after examining it, come to the conclusion, not to notice it, will you write to me privately your opinion of it? But, before you determine, let me insist that you do review the work—for a searching and powerful article on it and the subjects involved would be of essential service to the cause of truth, not only here, but everywhere. You are engaged in the great work of enlightening the human mind, and of presenting the truth as you embrace it—let your light *shine*—hide it not—and great may be the good conferred on some mind which, like yours was, is now seeking light.

The January number of your Review is before me. I am highly pleased with its contents. The third and fifth articles I have not yet read, but the others I have, and I must say that “The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome” and “Native-Americanism” are powerful articles—that on “The British Reformation” is an able paper.

I learned, a few days since, that you delivered a lecture in Boston, the object of which was to show that the only hope for the perpetuity of the institutions of

our country is to be found in the doctrines of the Catholic church. I see something of this in the article on "Native-Americanism"—and though not prepared to agree with every sentiment therein advanced, I must confess that Protestantism has failed, as Protestantism, to effect much good for the people.

You will pardon this intrusion of an humble personage upon your time, which can be much better employed than in reading my weak conjectures.

My brother, A. G. Sumner, whom you saw last September in Boston, will, on the 1st of February next, take charge of a paper called "The South Carolinian," published in Columbia. His health is good, and he remembers you with pleasure.

Should I come North in a year or so, I shall be sure to call on you, if living.

I am, yours respectfully,

HENRY SUMNER.

The other letter, which is here given, was from a Catholic, as follows:

CHARLESTON, 31st January, 1845.

SIR:—I have sent you a copy of Rev. Mr. Thornwell's recently published letters on the Apocrypha, hoping that you will review them. He attacks, at length, our fundamental dogma—Infallibility—and should be answered. Our champion, Dr. Lynch, is so engrossed by multifarious duties, that I do not believe he can possibly reply for a long time to come; although it is his intention to do so when he can prepare a book. In the meantime our doctrine might be fairly stated and main-

tained; and our Holy Mother vindicated from the gross calumnies that this fresh assailant has endeavored to fix on her. These may be done in your Review, without any interference with Dr. L.'s intention and plans.

I have taken this step without consulting my friend, A. P. F., and beg that you will consider it confidential.

Excuse me for remarking that your progress towards Catholicity was watched by my family and self with intense interest—because of the services which we foresaw you would render to religion, and because, being all of us converts, we could conceive and sympathize with the state of mind and feeling through which you were passing. Among your admirers there are none, we are sure, who regard you with warmer sentiments than we do—strangers though we be. Strangers—and yet brothers! For we feel, and know, that we are of the same faith and Christian brotherhood with yourself; and that we (however obscure) are combating in the same fight in which you hold so conspicuous a position.

I am, my dear sir, your fellow-catholic and fellow-convert,

JOHN BELLINGER, M. D.

O. A. BROWNSON.

A few lines at the end of the April Review announced the receipt of the book, and the intention to review it. As the July and October numbers contained no review of it, Dr. Lynch, on receipt of the October Review, wrote:

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 9th, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—The announcement contained in your April number, if I mistake not, that you would devote some pages of your excellent Review to an examination

of Professor Thornwell's book on "the Apocrypha" caused us here to look with anxiety for your succeeding numbers. An article from your vigorous pen on that subject would be of great service to the cause of our Holy Religion. We trust, and none more earnestly than myself, that you have not changed your intention.

I have been urged to re-write and conclude my letters and publish them in book-form, and I have promised to do so—the more readily as the subject is one of every-day controversy between Catholics and Protestants, and I am not aware of there being any Catholic work in English devoted to its thorough consideration. I have labored, too, some little at my task, but owing to the overwhelming duties incumbent on me as pastor of a congregation—the difficulty of finding books which I wish to consult, and likewise my unskilfulness in turning odd half-hours to account, my progress has been, and I fear still will be, very slow. If you will review Mr. Thornwell's book, as I hope you will, I would feel myself released from the disagreeable task of writing against him, and would throw him overboard, and confine myself to the subject. In this case, if it would suit your views, I would republish your article in the same volume, by way of an answer to him.

This letter of Dr. Lynch's removed any hesitation on Brownson's part, or delicacy about interfering in behalf of a combatant well able to hold his own against any champion the Presbyterians could put forward, and he reviewed Thornwell's answer to Dr. Lynch at great length,* in articles claiming interest both for the mat-

* Brownson's Works, vol. vi., pp. 427 to 519.

ters discussed and for the strict logic with which Thornwell is refuted and Lynch sustained.

In other articles Brownson examined and refuted the more prominent charges preferred and insisted on in his own age and country by the popular chiefs of the anti-Catholic party. The greater part of these charges against the Catholic religion are of a character that can have no weight with men who are really men of intelligence and accustomed to think clearly, distinctly, and for themselves. Many of them are founded on a total misconception of the Catholic dogma or practice they are intended to impugn, and would conclude nothing if conceded; many more are unsound in principle and such as cannot be urged against the church without denying by implication the whole Christian revelation, and even all human science. Much that is alleged, especially from history, is irrelevant, or false in fact, simple fiction, and not always even ingenious fiction. The opponents of the church deal chiefly in unsupported assertions addressed to popular ignorance, popular credulity, popular prejudice, and popular passions, and apparently study not to allege what is true, but what the Catholic may find it difficult to refute. Unhappily such is the low state of mental culture in the Acatholic world, such the ignorance, the prejudice, and the passion of the people outside of the church, that whatever is unblushingly asserted, though without a shadow of evidence, is taken for gospel truth unless disproved. Whenever the question relates to the church, the Protestant waives the ordinary rules of law, logic, and good sense, and proceeds on the presumption that every man is to be counted guilty till he succeeds in proving his

innocence. The assertions of Catholics, which, when it comes to assertions against assertions, are at least as good as the assertions of their adversaries, count for nothing. Anti-Catholic assertions, however unsupported or unscrupulous, are held to be worth more than irrefragable proofs adduced by Catholics, and it would seem that the anti-Catholic preachers, lecturers, and writers proceed always on the assumption that Protestants cannot possibly lie, and Catholics cannot possibly tell the truth. Hence it becomes necessary, in order to advance the cause of true religion, and to undeceive the simple who are unskilled in unravelling intricate sophistries, to take up and patiently to disprove charges which rest actually upon no foundation, and on their own account are not worthy of a moment's consideration.

Much of the difficulty Acatholics profess to feel, and perhaps really do feel, would be removed if they would reduce their objections to their principle. In most cases, all that is necessary to remove the objection they bring is to analyze it and show the principle on which it rests. The state of society in some countries where the Catholic is the predominant religion, it is alleged, is not under the point of view of politics and material prosperity all that it might, perhaps should, be. Therefore, it is concluded, the church does not promote the political and material interests of nations; therefore she is not and cannot be the Church of God. A good argument, if our Lord came, as the carnal Jews expected, to be a temporal prince, and to reward his followers with temporal goods; but a very bad argument in one who holds that he came as a spiritual prince, to found a spiritual kingdom, a kingdom not of

this world, and who enjoins self-denial, and teaches his followers to expect their reward only in heaven after the close of this life. A pope, as temporal sovereign of Rome, or in his private capacity, has given some evidence that in either capacity he is neither infallible nor impeccable; therefore popery is a huge imposition, and the church the synagogue of Satan. Vice and immorality creep now and then, and here and there, into a religious house, the clergy in particular times and places, live more like men of the world than devoted priests of the most high God, and numbers of the faithful do not rise in their morals far above the ordinary level of the better class of Acatholics; therefore the church is the Mystery of Iniquity, and the pope the Man of Sin. Yet the Master said to his Disciples: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" Would you have the church destroy the freewill of man, and leave him no merit in his obedience? Popes or councils, it is alleged, have declared that an oath taken to the detriment of the rights or interests of the church, that is, against the law of God, is an unlawful oath and not obligatory; therefore, the church denies the sanctity of oaths, and authorizes perjury. As if a man could be bound by an unlawful oath, or as if to break an unlawful oath could be perjury! If a man takes an oath to murder his neighbor, must he actually murder him or be a perjuror? To take such oath voluntarily and deliberately is a sin, but the additional sin would be in keeping, not in breaking it. In all cases like these the bare reduction of the objection to its principle sufficiently refutes it.

The Protestant mind in relation to religion is

X exceedingly unscientific. It lacks unity, and Protestants have no common principle on which they rest their objections to the church. Their objections have no logical order or sequence, have no mutual dependence, and add nothing to enlighten and sustain one another. They are brought from opposite principles, and, if brought together, would be found to be reciprocally destructive. This for the most part escapes the attention of Protestants themselves, because Protestantism itself is illogical, unscientific, and incapable of being reduced to systematic unity. There is science only where there is unity, and Protestantism is essentially a departure from unity, an earnest, even a terrible protest against unity. It is and can be only multiplicity, variety, diversity, as its whole history demonstrates. Its objections, then, to Catholicity must necessarily lack a common principle, and even consistency one with another, and this lack of consistency and of a common principle will fail to strike the Protestant mind, because the Protestant mind does not seek in religion unity and consistency, but their opposites, plurality and contrariety.

Protestantism is not all of one piece; it is a compound of heterogeneous and mutually destructive principles. It has never received, and never can receive a scientific definition, for the simple reason that it has no unity, no common principle. Some of the principles it professes to hold, if carried out to their logical consequences, would require a return to the old church and to the Catholic faith; others, if logically developed, would result in denying the supernatural, and the assertion of rationalism, sensism, atheism, skepticism,

nihilism. No possible definition of Protestantism by anything that it can include High-Churchism and Unitarianism, and yet both are genuine Protestantism. All attempts to define Protestantism, or to reduce it to a common principle, have failed and must fail. Place its essential principle in justification by faith alone, or imputed righteousness; in the sufficiency of the Scriptures or the Bible without note or comment; in private judgment, private interpretation, or private illumination; and you will include only a part of what passes and has the right to pass under the name of Protestantism. The only unity predictable of Protestantism is the unity of negation. All Protestants agree in denying the truth and authority of the Catholic Church, but unhappily in nothing else; and hence their religion in its distinctive character is a mere bundle of negations.

Only truth is one; all error is manifold, diverse, and unintelligible save in the truth it misapprehends, misinterprets, or misapplies. Extinguish Catholicity, and Protestantism would be absolutely unintelligible. There is not a distinctively Protestant doctrine that is intelligible by itself, or has any significance save in the Catholic doctrine or practice against which it is directed. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, asserted by Luther, is, as a distinctively Protestant doctrine, simply the denial of the merit of good works, that is, works done in grace, asserted by Catholicity; the assertion of the sufficiency of the Scriptures is simply the denial of Catholic tradition; the assertion of private judgment, private interpretation, or private illumination is simply the denial of the authority of the Catholic Church to teach, define, and declare the faith once delivered to the

saints. Protestant objections can be illuminated only by Catholic doctrine, and are not really intelligible to Protestants themselves till the Catholic doctrine and practice are fully known and understood by them. As these objections are intelligible only in Catholicity, so they can have order and unity only in the order and unity of Catholic faith and discipline.

All in Christianity clusters around or grows out of the grand mystery of the Incarnation, God become man, the Word made flesh. The whole distinctively Christian revelation, as the peculiarly Christian life, is in this exhaustless mystery, and the whole providence of God from the beginning has been and is directed to the preparing of men for it and bringing them to acknowledge it, to adore it, to trust in it, and to profit by it. The church is in the Incarnation, flows out from it, and in some sense continues it, on earth. All doctrinal objections to the church, whatever their form, are directly or indirectly objections to the Incarnation. The first errors and heresies that arose among the professed followers of our Lord and that have been condemned by the church were errors and heresies that impugned this great mystery. Undoubtedly the Incarnation presupposes the mystery of the ever-adorable Trinity, but the doctrine of the Trinity, though early denied, was chiefly denied as the briefest and most effective way of denying the Incarnation, as the mystery of the Word made flesh, the assumption of human nature by the second person of the Trinity to be the nature of God. The Ebionites denied the Incarnation in asserting that our Lord was only man and denying that he was also God; the Docetæ denied it by denying the reality of his body,

and maintaining that he assumed a human body, therefore the flesh, and suffered on the cross, only in appearance; the Arians did it by denying the proper divinity of the Son, and making the Lord Jesus Christ in all respects a creature; the Nestorians did it by asserting in him both a human and a divine personality, the Eutychians by absorbing the human in the divine and asserting for him after the resurrection only one single nature, and that divine nature. So of all or nearly all the other heresies condemned by the early councils.

Those objections which grow out of the denial or misapprehension of the Incarnation by those who adduce them would have been first considered, and then those which arise only indirectly or remotely from the same denial or misapprehension taken up and considered afterwards and as nearly as possible in their order, so that some method might be observed, and the objections themselves be made the occasion of setting forth the Catholic faith itself in its unity, and its several mysteries and dogmas in their natural order and mutual dependence, thus resolving to a great extent the work of refutation into the work of exposition, had this been practicable. The controversial style and tone would then have been avoided, and the genetic principle once seized and established, it would of itself have solved all doctrinal objections usually urged, and much facilitated the correct understanding of those adduced from history. But it is easily perceived that the necessity of replying to objections as they were urged in the anti-Catholic press left Brownson no opportunity to follow in all respects the method here indicated. In much of his controversial writing he was simply repelling attacks

upon the church, or answering objections urged against her, where his sole business was to explain away these objections, or to show that they were unfounded, or at least irrelevant, and, instead of proving the claims of the church to those who rejected them, to show that the reasons urged were not conclusive against them, and that the reasons Protestants gave for not becoming Catholics were not sufficient to justify one in refusing to enter the communion of the church. Those articles of a more positive character seem much to be preferred in which he sets forth the Catholic faith in its unity and consistency; and although it may readily be conceived that such as are confined chiefly to repelling objections are not the most important, they have still their use both inside and outside of the Catholic body. These objections disturb the minds of some not very well instructed Catholics who see not clearly how they are to be answered, and they confirm the prejudices of those who are without, intensify their hostility to the church, and prevent them from investigating her title, and making themselves acquainted with her teachings.

A comparison was sometimes made between Cardinal Wiseman's tone and manner in the Oxford controversy and Brownson's, not at all to the credit of the latter. I willingly concede Wiseman's learning, his talents, his genius, his cultivated taste, and his rich imagination; but what purpose would they have served if he had been conducting the defense of the Catholic religion, not against sober-minded Protestants, really attached to Christianity as they understood it, loving the gospel more than they hated the church, and who, if convinced that Protestantism was false, and Catho-

licity true, would not hesitate to become Catholics, but against unreasoning bigots and fanatics, or else indifferentists who regarded one religion as good as another, and, perhaps, no religion as best of all? Brownson loved not harshness, took no pleasure in saying hard things; but it was clear to him that if he would not compromise truth and degrade a noble cause, he must tell his noisy, declamatory, flippant, squibbing, and unreasoning opponents just what they were, and refuse to treat them as fair and honorable adversaries till they mended their manners. He could not, as matters stood, follow the admirable models of the Cardinal, if he would, even if he had had the qualifications which would have enabled him to do so. Yet this may be said in his favor that wherever he found in an opponent the least serious attempt at argument, or the least indication of sincerity and honesty of purpose, he made it a point to treat him with all courtesy and forbearance. Instances to prove this are too multiplied in his works for any to receive special mention.

The Tractarian controversy itself was one with which Brownson had less sympathy than with any other; for the question was never in his mind a question between the Catholic Church and some other, but always between the Catholic Church and none at all. At any time for twenty years prior to his conversion, if satisfied that our Lord founded any church at all, he would have been satisfied that the Catholic Church was the one, and that out of that there could be no salvation. The thing, for him, always lay on the surface of history, and he had not been a minister for a year before he preached a sermon against all idea of a Christian

Church, on the ground that the idea once admitted, he could not stop short of Rome. The thing was as plain to him as that two and two make four, and he could never understand that Protestant state of mind which rejected Catholicity and still claimed to have a church, or that could dream of calling any church Catholic but the church in communion with the See of Rome. When subsequently he felt the absolute need of a church to keep men straight, and enable them to save society and their own souls, and found that man could not make one, and that a church could not grow up of itself, he was led to ask if Christ had not foreseen our wants and founded a church. He had, on obtaining an affirmative answer, nothing to do but to go to the Catholic Church, and beg to be admitted as a member. No person was or could be less fitted to sympathize with the Tractarians, and nobody less than a Tractarian could sympathize with him. Yet there were noble elements in that movement, and under what seemed its childishness, its absurdities, and its apparent inability to see anything save through a distorted medium, or to draw a plain, logical conclusion, there was a deep and earnest tone of thought, a sincerity of purpose, a longing after truth and true Christian communion, as facts have proved.

Wiseman, still Rector of the English College at Rome, comprehended the movement and had hope from it. He knew, what not every one ever knows, how to make allowance for men brought up in error and seeing the truth only dimly, as the man in the Gospel saw men as trees walking. He would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, and he met these men in a kindly spirit. He yielded to them no point of

doctrine; he made no concessions, no compromises; but he gave them full credit for their honesty and sincerity of purpose, and encouraged them to hold fast every truth they had attained; and firmly, determinedly, but with courtesy, Christian meekness and gentleness, pointed out and refuted their errors. Let any one read to-day his essays on what was called the Oxford controversy, and he can hardly fail to be astonished at the wisdom and address as well as eloquence and erudition with which he met the movement. A rougher, though more energetic method of dealing with those men, like that which Brownson was compelled to adopt towards the sort of opponents he found in his own country, would have repelled them, would have driven them back on their errors, and probably lost to English Catholicity all the fruits it has reaped from their movement. All men are not alike in all things, and the sort of treatment which would be just the thing to command the respect of a bold, frank, strong-minded Vermonter or Kentuckian, would have overwhelmed the delicate Oxford student, and made him withdraw entirely into himself, as a snail within its shell; that is prior to his conversion. After it, he ought to be able both to receive and to give hard knocks without losing his equanimity.

It is very certain, and Brownson felt it painfully, that he was not always able to observe in his own polemical writings, the traits that all admired in Wiseman, for he had not such men as the Cardinal with whom to carry on his controversy. He had to continue his Review, and engage in the discussion of controverted questions from the moment of his entrance into

the church, before he had received any advantage from Catholic discipline, while still ignorant of the ordinary Catholic phraseology. He had to learn as he wrote. Then he had to meet not a movement already advanced far in the direction of the church, and to argue with gentlemen and scholars who were honest and sincere, who he felt were really desirous of knowing and embracing the truth, and on whom he could hope to produce a favorable impression. Some such undoubtedly there were and are in this country, but too insignificant a portion to be considered in conducting a controversy with the Acatholic public. For the first nine years that he conducted his Review as a Catholic, he asserted that in but one single instance had he met a fair-minded and honorable opponent of Catholicity. He had to address a community indifferent, fanatical, bigoted, and to his most serious and elaborate arguments on the most momentous subjects that can occupy the mind or the heart of man, the gravest response he was able to obtain was a newspaper squib, a joke as to his frequent changes of opinion when a Protestant, or at best a flippant and scurrilous article in some magazine. So little seriousness, candor, and gravity was there in the country that even Catholic journals, when they felt called upon to dissent from some things he had ventured to advance, pretty generally followed, when they did not surpass, the tone of the Protestant and secular press. How in such country, with such opponents, is it possible to conduct an argument for the church and against Acatholics in an elevated, dignified, and courteous manner? Look into our Catholic journals, and see in what terms they speak of one another

when there happens to be a matter of difference between them, and then think what must have been the tone and temper of journals conducted by men who had none of the discipline or graces of Catholicity to restrain them. A man can discuss the questions Wiseman had to discuss, and meet the arguments he had to meet, and bear with the men he had to bear with, with some hope that he is not laboring in vain, and that his words will not return to him empty. Brownson had little reason for hope of the sort, and sometimes felt that the most he could hope to do was to keep up the tone and courage of his own brethren.

The task of writing articles in reply to objections often puerile, often no better than mere words, oftener still irrelevant and founded upon ignorance, misapprehension, or misrepresentation of facts in the case, was undoubtedly very disagreeable, and would have been insupportable, if Brownson had not been sustained by the hope of doing much good by removing some of the obstacles which kept immortal souls separated from the life-giving communion of the church of God. The labor was great, wearisome, often disgusting, taxing his patience to the utmost; but charity lightened it and rendered it even attractive. No labor was too arduous or too disagreeable to be performed by the true lover of Him who died that men might live, which could in any degree tend to bring men back to God, and promote even indirectly the spread of truth and the liberation of souls from the bonds of error and unbelief.

CHAPTER II.

CONTROVERSY WITH CATHOLICS.—NEWMAN.

BESIDES his controversies with Protestants, Brownson was involved in many discussions with Catholics, beginning almost immediately after his reception into the church, and carried on with great earnestness ever after. Most of these were against doctrines or opinions which he regarded as ultra-liberal, yet some against ultra-conservatism and obscurantism. His views of the matters discussed were afterwards upheld in many cases, by Pius IX, Leo XIII, or by the Vatican Council.

The first and the most reluctantly engaged in of these discussions with Catholics was on the question of the development of Christian doctrine. Soon after Brownson's reception into the church, John Henry Newman made his profession of faith, and immediately gave to the world an exposition of the course which his mind had pursued in the transition from Anglicanism to Catholicity, and which he believed would be of service to others in similar circumstances, by removing the objections to the church which he himself had raised in his previous publications. A copy of this book, called "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," fell into Brownson's hands, and the theory and all its details were carefully and minutely studied. The conclusion of such study was the conviction that the theory was false and inconsistent with Christianity. This result of his examination he made known to Bishop Fitzpatrick who, after sufficient reflection, requested Brownson to refute the "Essay." Several other bishops

also told him to do so; and every Catholic bishop, priest, and layman in the country, so far as Brownson could ascertain, rejected Newman's theory of development, although some may have held to development in another sense than Newman's with a view to maintaining the definability of the Immaculate Conception, which they saw not how to do without conceding development. The first to write against Newman's theory in this country was Bishop Purcell, who condemned it in "The Cincinnati Telegraph."*

Brownson's first article against Newman's theory was published in his Review for July, 1846; † and in January, 1847, a second appeared reviewing Spencer Northcote's "Fourfold Difficulty of Anglicanism," in which the same theory runs through the work. It began now to look as if Newman was not alone in maintaining his development theory, but a dangerous school was forming among the recent English converts from Tractarianism. This does not, however, seem to have been generally suspected or appreciated. As it was known that Newman wrote his essay before his conversion, though he published it only after his reception

* Brownson's notes, preparatory to his review of Newman, begin in this way: "*Advertisement*, written Oct. 6, 1845. The work is directed to show that love of truth is no obstacle to seeking communion with the Roman C. C.

"Contains his retractions, previously published—Want of explicitness, not hearty, indicates a great regard for his own reputation.

"P. S. Mr. N. would have expressed himself more accurately if he had said it was originally his intention to have carried his work through the press before *taking* the step, instead of before *deciding* to take it. The book from beginning to end bears ample testimony to the fact that in his mind the R. C. C. is the C. Xt. Mgr. H. tells me Mr. N. told him the greater part of the work was written ten, now nearly eleven, years ago. The work bears internal evidence to the contrary. The materials, we presume, were collected ten years ago, but the work must have been recast since 1838, and the application of the theory in favor of Rome made too in favor of the R. C. C. quite recently. Mr. Newman's submission of his work is ambiguous, not frank, and leaves him at liberty to hold to it even should the C. condemn it."

† *Works*, vol. xiv., p. 1.

into the church, it was not subjected to so strict an examination as a theory concerning Christian Doctrine by a Catholic would have been. Many persons recognized the truth of the assertion of that development which no one disputes, and which was sufficient for all the author's purposes, and interpreting the book accordingly, gave it as orthodox a meaning as they were able to. Where the expression was irreconcilable with orthodoxy, they were inclined to be lenient in their judgment because the author was not yet a Catholic when he prepared it.

A letter of Bishop McCloskey's, in answer to one from Brownson in regard to a lecture in New York the coming winter and asking the Bishop's views on the Development theory, shows that he regarded it very much as I have just said.

NEW YORK, Dec. 16th, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—I have been very dilatory in acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter, and I have no better apology to offer than that of the very best *intentions* to have written to you long since. I shall be too happy to return one "good turn," since so you have been pleased to consider it, by another; but whether I can do so *now* as effectually and successfully as when vested with *plenipotentiary powers*, is a matter somewhat doubtful. Bishop Hughes, however, is desirous that you should lecture again in New York this winter, and if he will only lend his name and influence to the furtherance of this object, your success will be doubly sure, and I trust, more than doubly great. Meantime I shall endeavor to "put the ball in motion," and when it has attained its proper growth, you shall be duly apprised of it.

As my humble opinion of Mr. Newman's book is of little worth, it can hardly be worth while expressing it. Indeed, I have never taken the pains to examine it with anything like critical attention, and therefore it would be unfair for me to pronounce a judgment on its merits or demerits. From such attention, however, as I did bestow upon it, I have derived no favorable impression as to its soundness or orthodoxy—particularly of its earlier chapters on the Probability, etc., of Developments. Certainly it contains numberless propositions and assertions which could not come from the pen of any thorough Catholic divine; nor would they now come, at least in the same phraseology, from the pen of Mr. N. himself.

All this, I think, your first article has sufficiently proved. As to danger to be apprehended from the book itself, I cannot say, that in this I fully agree with you.

It is not a *Catholic* book, and we are in no manner called upon to defend it, nor have Protestants any right to hold us responsible for any of its doctrines or assertions—and as Mr. Newman is *now* a Catholic, and has gone to the fountain-head for guidance and instruction, I would rather wait patiently and leave it to himself to deal with his own former errors, even as our friend Mr. Brownson has done.

Hoping to see you soon, and wishing you mean-
while health and happiness, I remain,

Dear sir, very truly and sincerely in Xt,

† JOHN BISHOP OF AXIEREN,

Coadjutor of New York.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Your note to Mr. White was delivered.

The U. S. Catholic Magazine, of Baltimore, took up the defence of Newman's Essay, and, as Bishop O'Connor was one of its responsible endorsers, Brownson complained to him that the bishop was supposed to be giving the weight of episcopal sanction to what he regarded dangerous errors. In answer the bishop wrote:

(No date; but postmarked Summit, Pa., Oct. 29.)

DEAR SIR:—I deferred answering your letter until I should be able to do so with a little leisure and until I could have time to look over the work of Newman with the articles on the subject to which you refer. This I have been unable to do up to the present moment. I received your letter while we were in the midst of the exercises of our synod. That was scarcely over when I was hurried out of town and I have been ever since tossed about without a moment to reflect or read with any care any thing on that or any other subject. I would have deferred still longer writing, but I did not wish you should imagine that I would hesitate for a moment in doing anything that could oblige you, and therefore, to-night it will be to explain at least my delay.

Your own article was the only thing on the subject which I had read through up to the time I received your letter. I read it as I do all your articles with unmixed pleasure. I had given but a hasty glance at Newman's Essay. I did not give it anything like a perusal that would warrant me in giving an opinion of the doctrine he really undertakes to establish. I thought that in some passages he appeared to teach a theory of development such as you very justly condemn and very ably

refute, while in other passages I thought he seemed to afford a clue for interpreting his meaning in a better sense. As I said above I have not had time to look into the subject as carefully as I would have wished, and as I intended to do before replying to your letter. I formed a kind of theory or meaning for him which I thought ought to be his theory if it was not—the only meaning in which I thought he could, as a Catholic, defend his developments, viz: that the idea originally imparted was more and more clearly expressed by its antagonism to ever growing errors successively condemned, or its application to new cases daily arising. The history of this struggle will manifest itself in the written records in the same form as a developing idea, and the problem proposed by N. may be solved by showing the development of the expression of the idea while the idea itself substantially remained the same. Farther than this there certainly can be no development in doctrine. If one thing more than another has always been assumed by our Theologians as certain it is that primitive faith was not only true but perfect. Hence the proposition was condemned that Christian morals may be better learned from modern than from ancient writers. In dogmatical facts which of their own nature imply a certain additional development or application, such as the number of councils held, the fact of the Bishop of Rome being the Vicar of Xt., that the doctrine of Jansenius, the very one condemned in his book is identical with the five propositions condemned, etc., the greatest difficulty has been always felt to show how these must be believed as *de fide* without any addition being made to the original stock of doctrine; and it is looked upon as

one of the nicest effects of the Theologian's skill to prove that in believing them he is adding nothing to the original doctrine, and yet he must do it before he can defend the church in requiring a belief in them.

I had not even heard of the article in the Magazine until my attention was directed to it by your letter, and it was only this afternoon that I was able to read it through. It is certainly a small affair. I cannot, as I said before, give anything like a well-grounded opinion of Mr. N.'s meaning. It does appear to me that some of the passages cited by the Magazine may lead to a more favorable interpretation than other passages would seem to indicate. But abstracting from the matter of fact it certainly cannot be said that any development has taken place in doctrine that makes our knowledge of the doctrines of faith more full than that of our ancestors, or that would enable us to say that the church was not as well able to decide on any controversy that ever could have arisen with the same precision and fullness that she can to-day or ever will. The sanction which we have given to the Magazine was not certainly a power of attorney to speak for us, nor do I think that you should look upon the whole weight of the Hierarchy or any of its authority as being brought against you. As far as the editors continue faithful to the same course which has deserved praise they will receive it; if they act differently at any moment they forfeit, and any one is certainly at full liberty to canvass their positions without in the least supposing that he gives the least opposition to the bishops.

I regret, dear sir, that I am unable now to enter as fully on this subject as I would have wished, and as

you would, perhaps, have had a right to expect, but rather than let you imagine that I had forgotten or neglected to answer you I send you this as it stands. We all derive too much pleasure and religion too much advantage from your learned and vigorous pen not to give you every assistance in our power. Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully in Christ.

+ M. O'CONNOR,

Bishop of Pittsburg.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

The Dublin Review for June, 1847, took up the defence of Newman's Essay, in an article by W. G. Ward. But before that Brownson received a letter from Ward on the subject.

COTHAM PARK,
Surrey, England, April 7, 1847: }

DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty of addressing you, though personally unknown, on the subject of an article in the last Dublin Review on doctrinal developments, of which I am the author. It is always very uncomfortable to me, in any case, to engage in merely *external* controversy; but, of course, such a feeling is far stronger in the present case considering that the other party in the controversy is himself a Catholic, and one too for whom it is impossible to entertain other feelings than those of great respect and regard.

You will not, I am sure, suspect me of any wish to deprecate whatever severity of language you may feel bound to use in commenting on my article. The cause of truth is paramount to all personal considerations. On the other hand, as my article is public property, and

to be commented on publicly on its own grounds, so you will understand this letter as *private*, and not a subject for any public comment, though I need hardly say I should feel it an honour and a favour if you were disposed to answer me in private.

One principal reason then for writing to you is the mere fact that it is so much more comfortable to myself and seems more courteous towards you, that you should know the name of your (friendly) opponent. Another principal reason is that I wish to say a few words about Newman; whose name, you will have seen, I have quite passed over in my article. The fact is he has more than once expressed to me his wish that I should not appear before the public in any way as his advocate; one reason of which wish is his great repugnance to the idea of appearing to the world as leader of a school; than which (both appearance and reality) nothing can be more distasteful to his feelings.

It could not, however, be otherwise than most painful to my own feelings (and I should think to those of several others) to observe the light in which you seem to regard him. For although you wish as much as possible to separate off your comments on his *book* from any reflections on *himself*, you must, I should think, be almost aware yourself, that there is a certain tone of grave censure towards himself personally. I would especially instance your remarks on a little work published by a convert from Protestant Episcopalianism, in which you contrast his way of joining the church with Newman's.*

* There was, perhaps, some reference to Newman in Brownson's notice of Henry Major's "Reasons for Acknowledging the Authority of the Holy

The idea you seem to have formed is that he has devised a theory in a wanton sort of a way, as a sort of intellectual exercise, instead of submitting himself humbly to the teachings of the Catholic Church as he found it. I cannot but think that a statement of some of the facts of the case will induce you, in some degree at least, to modify this opinion.

N. began his high-church Anglicanism as a hearty disciple of the Anglican Bishop Bull, the especial opponent of every theory of development. Froude was, I believe, the instrument of bringing him over to high-church opinions, being a fellow of the same college and a very intimate friend: he died, as you may very possibly know, in the year 1836, and Froude naturally indoctrinated him with the opinions which he had learned from his old tutor Keble.

Now Keble was a sort of hereditary member of that school in the Anglican Church, of which the chief representative was Bull; and which upon the whole, in my judgment, is by far the truest representative of the formularies and symbolical books of the Anglican Church taken as a whole. The principles of their school were to regard Apostolical succession as an indispensable condition to sacramental grace—to regard the Anglican Church as their mother, etc., in virtue of its possessing that succession—and to draw a distinction strongly in its favour between it on the one hand and the Roman

See of Rome," in his Review for January, 1847. There is no mention of Newman by name in the notice, but these words occur, "We are also pleased to see that Mr. Major is a simple-minded convert, who comes to the church to be taught, not to teach, and is willing to take the church as she is, and on the grounds on which she has hitherto been taken. He brings her no theory or ingenious hypothesis of his own, and laying it at her feet, modestly assures her that it will give him great pleasure to find his thoughts on the same subject coincident with hers. We like this."

Catholic churches on the other hand, on these grounds (1) that the faith does not admit of increase, and that the whole office of the church is merely to guard and transmit it; (2) that the Roman Church has gone against this rule by defining various dogmas on Purgatory, Transubstantiation, etc., which were merely matters of opinion in the early church; (3) that the Anglican Church at the Reformation reverted to its original and legitimate functions and declined these "Modern additions."

Should you have access to Newman's first books on the "History of the Arians" and the "Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church" (sometimes called his "Lectures on Communion and Popular Protestantism,") and should you care to look into them, you would find many illustrations of what I have been saying. Thus in the former he speaks with the deepest reverence of Bull, and in the latter he comments in the severest terms on Petavius for saying that the ante-Nicene Fathers were not always unexceptionable in their statements on the doctrine of the Trinity; and calls him a parricide, etc., etc. In the same work ("The Prophetic Office") he bases throughout his opposition to the "Roman" church on the allegation that she has added to the Faith; and cites in proof of this both historical facts of the early centuries, and also acknowledgments of Catholic writers themselves, such as that which I have quoted in my article from the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose; also from Cardinal Fisher, Polydore Virgil, etc.

Now my reason for mentioning all this is to show that at that time he had been led by his natural and

legitimate course of studies to feel very strongly the pressure of one particular objection against the modern Catholic system of doctrine. That these studies were very extensive no one can doubt who reads his works. I believe I am correct in saying that before he became a Catholic he had read through all the works of all the Greek and all the Latin Fathers *at least three times*, and that particular objection was that it was historically evident that certain doctrines considered by the present "Roman" church as Catholic were not so considered by the Early Church. This objection was stated most clearly and prominently in the work I have mentioned, and also in great numbers of other works. Any one may see them who will look at the "Tracts for the Times" or the various numbers of the "British Critic" from the time Mr. Newman undertook its editorship down to the year 1841.

Now here it is very important to observe that although many Catholics paid the greatest attention to these writings and various reviews of them appeared in Catholic journals, *no real attempt whatever* was made to meet this objection. The passages from Cardinal Fisher, etc., were not disavowed nor accused of spuriousness nor yet were they plainly adopted and proclaimed to be Catholic in this view. I, for one, felt this and keenly at the time; even so late as 1841, when I paid two days' visit to Oscott, I could not get Dr. Wiseman to give me any definite answer at all on the subject one way or the other. He would neither say that Newman represented antiquity unfairly, nor that he represented it fairly. He said a great deal, and very well, in attack of *Anglicanism*, but I could get no light at all on this

essential and prominent difficulty which one felt to be in the way of *Catholicism*.

But before the year 1841 a further change had taken place in Newman's mind, as he has since informed a great friend of mine, an old Irish Catholic. This change was directly caused by Dr. Wiseman's article which appeared, I think, in the year 1840, paralleling the Anglicans with the Donatists. From the time he read that article, he felt there was one most decided "screw loose" in Anglican theology; he felt, and strongly, that the Anglicans were in a position which the ancient church would have regarded as schismatic; from the time this view was presented to him the more he thought over the acts and words of the Fathers, the more they seemed to corroborate that view. This, however, only placed him in a most cruel state of difficulty; for it did not tend one step to remove his old objections to the "Roman" Church, though it infused new objections to the "Anglican." No one can doubt that, from that time at least, he was most anxious to find some clew to extricate him from the labyrinth, yet no Catholic was at hand to offer him any clew, and I cannot but feel it an *extreme injustice and cruelty* that Catholics who were silent when he was searching in their direction for some way of escape, should afterwards, when he has found a way for himself and actually brought himself to the Catholic Church by help of it, be loud in their objections to the legitimacy of that way. If this be not the right way, why did they not, years ago, find for him some other?

This observation, my dear sir, cannot be supposed to reflect upon yourself, because you were not, I believe,

at that time a Catholic. But I do think that all who find fault with his theory, should ask themselves this plain question, "except for this theory, how could he possibly have become a Catholic?"

Here, then, I confess, I *do* think that Newman has some right to complain of *your* treatment of him. Here we have a person of ability and thought, who has devoted himself to the study of the Fathers, and who is most anxious to find in them all possible agreement with the present Catholic Church, and yet *cannot*, for the life of him, read them any other way than as being either discrepant or ignorant, on various matters which are *now* ruled to be points of Catholic Faith. If on the one hand it is historically clear that the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century is the lineal heir of the Catholic Church of the fourth century, it is equally clear historically (so he thinks) that the doctrine of the first named church is in many particulars an addition upon the doctrine of the last named.

Now he may be right or wrong in this opinion ; but as long as it lasts, I don't see how he can possibly open his eye to one aspect of history and close his eye on the other. I don't see how he can possibly join the church on the former historical fact until he has persuaded himself that in so doing he is committed to no opinions which are inconsistent with the *latter*. I cannot, I confess, see the force of what you say as to his duty of submission to the view which he finds most common among Catholics of the present day. Why does he join the church *at all* except that history seems to him clearly to establish her claims ; but history seems to him, *with fully equal clearness*, to prove this alleged

growth of doctrine. Should you then (to argue per impossible) succeed ever so fully in showing to him that his view is irreconcilable with the teachings of the church, you would only throw him back on his original perplexity and shake his whole Catholic faith to the foundation. For no one believes what appears to him contradictory to plain historical facts, seeing that a cognisance of certain historical facts (according to your own frequently professed opinion) is the necessary *condition* of faith.

This then is the first consideration which I would venture, with great respect, to put before you: I wish you would fairly put before yourself his state of mind, and ask yourself, how could he do *otherwise* than devise a theory? What appeared to him the plainest facts were opposed to the view more common among Catholics at the present day: he could get no help from Catholics on any side in solving their faith: what could he do therefore, if he were to become a Catholic at all, except to try and solve them himself?

There is, indeed, one concluding sentence in your article which may be taken as intended to meet this difficulty; but I confess I am quite unable to understand it. I have not the article with me, but I think you dwell on N.'s acknowledgment that the ante-Nicene Fathers, *fairly interpreted*, support the Catholic doctrine on the Trinity. But it is plain he never meant to acknowledge (for in many parts of his work he has distinctly stated the reverse) that those Fathers held the doctrine in question as distinctly and consistently as the later Fathers, but that they held *substantially* the same Faith, and even so much as this he does not acknowledge

in regard to the doctrines which concern Purgatory, Our Blessed Lady, and several others that might be named.

It is only fair then, I venture to suggest, that "those who find fault with" his "interpretation of faith" should be prepared to *give their own*; as he himself urges, and this I cannot see that you have done.

(2.) Now as to the doctrine which N. finally adopted, he was led towards it, not only by the process I have described, but by another process which was going on in his mind at the same time. For, whereas his main study has ever been the early controversies on the Trinity and the Incarnation, his own deeper and more extended acquaintance with the ante-Nicene Fathers made him more and more dissatisfied with Bull's view of their statements on those doctrines. You may see the extent to which this dissatisfaction at last proceeded, if you care to look at his edition of St. Athanasius in the "Library of the Fathers": so that he felt it necessary to adopt some doctrine of development, if he would keep intact the very "primary doctrines of Christianity." He might, of course, have been right or wrong in this again, but what I wish to urge is that it was an opinion *directly in contradiction to his preconceived bias*, and which must have been at first very painful and perplexing.

(3.) As far as I know and believe, his first idea of the principle he afterwards adopted and carried out, was derived from De Maistre "du Pape;" especially from the passages I have quoted in the *first* article of the new Dublin Review. In the article he wrote in the B. Critic (I think in 1840), in *reply* to that of Dr. Wise-

man which I have already mentioned, he has stated that principle and much in De Maistre's words. So that, without here discussing the subject which is *publicly* at issue between us, it is a matter of fact that it was from a *Catholic* writer that he derived the general idea in question. That he (N.) has carried it out much further and more consistently than De Maistre I not only admit but maintain.

Of course I am not prepared to defend every single sentiment to be found in Newman's work. For instance, the language he uses about the growth of *private confession* seems to me in contradiction with the Tridentine Decrees; and as far as I can find, I cannot think the historical difficulty on that subject nearly so great as he seems to have regarded it. I think, also, he has not been so careful as might have been desired, to put forward and explain the real and deep identity of doctrine which has ever existed in the church. But on the whole I warmly concur in the views contained in it; and feel deeply grateful to its author. By the way, one other objection I have to make to it, is that I think its tone gives an idea, utterly the reverse of true, as to the historical difficulties in the way of Catholics. I think myself that the historical argument for the continuous identity of the church from the Apostolic age to the present most clear, cogent, and irrefragable.

(4.) As far as I know, I should say nothing is further from the truth than to suppose that the general tendency of the converts to take up this doctrine arises from a tendency to follow in Newman's steps. I believe it originates in the circumstance that most of them have been students of the Fathers, and all of them on terms

of familiar intercourse with such students, and that they have been drawn to the theory very much in the same way that Newman himself was. For my own part, I have not myself any acquaintance with the Fathers, but in the year 1842 I was asked by the editor of the B. Critic to review "Goode's Divine Rule of Faith," a most silly and weak work; but which contained a variety of quotations from the Fathers which unspeakably surprised me as appearing in so many ways inconsistent with Catholic Doctrine. I made inquiries whether they were *genuine*; and being answered in the affirmative, proceeded to account for them (I may say) precisely on the same principles and sometimes in the same words which appear in my recent article. I really wish you would look through that work; and again look through Allies's work (which I also review) to see the sort of difficulties with which Puseyite enquirers were met. As to Allies, I am told, and believe it, that he has sent over his book to a French Divine with whom he was on friendly terms, and earnestly entreated him to supply him with an answer to it; assuring him that he is *bona fide* in search of the truth, and that a historical proof of the recognition in the Fourth Century of the modern Papal claims would make him a Catholic on the spot. Surely those who find fault with *our* way of answering such difficulties, should be very ready with an answer on their own principles.

I must not however go on scribbling; and much that is on my tongue (or rather I suppose I should express it on my *pen*) to say, will come out, I imagine, in print, should the controversy proceed. I should here confine myself wholly to mere private matters. I will only

therefore add that a particular friend of mine, a priest who was educated at Maynooth, assures me that he always learned there principles substantially the same with Newman's; and that, for his part, he thinks that the prevalent tendency among Catholics to a different opinion arises (1) from their neglect of deep theological works and the substitution of *compendia*, and (2) from the supposed exigences of controversy with Protestants, who would, it is feared, wrest to their own purpose any admission of doctrinal growth. My own studies (whatever their extent, which is but small) have been almost exclusively in such writers as Suarez and Vasquez, and I must say that almost in every page of such writers one finds some direct or indirect recognition of Newman's principle, "Such and such a doctrine is *now* of faith," or "is now almost of faith," but before the Council of "so and so" "was a contested point," etc., etc. I should also add that since writing my article I have observed that *Perrone* in one or two passages sanctions the principle of development. I quite acknowledge that this seems inconsistent with other passages of his work, so much so, that I hardly thought it worth while to look through it. Dr. Wordsworth, however, in a disgusting work he has lately written, refers to one or two passages which I have verified; and I have since found others. As you seem to have that work, I would ask you to look through his observations on "Original Sin" in the treatise "De Deo Creatore." I have not the book here, or I would refer to the exact passage.

My usual direction is "Old Hall Green, Ware, England." The authorities of St. Edmund's College

(the oldest Catholic college in England) having kindly allowed me to build a house within their grounds. I don't know whether you are ever likely to come to England; but I trust, shbould you do so, you would not omit to honor us with a visit. Your name is well known to the students, and they have lately ordered your Review to come regularly to them. I trust you would find that English Catholics are not deficient in the hospitality which is the proverbial characteristic of our religion.

I wished much to read your *first* article on Newman; and have tried much, but in vain, to procure it. Could you help me to do so? Dr. *Wiseman* sent me the second in reference to my article on Allies.

I hope there has been nothing in this long letter which can be taken to imply any harshness or disrespect; nothing certainly can have been further from my intentions. And I beg to subscribe myself, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

W. G. WARD.

Brownson in acknowledging Ward's communication, wrote, in part, as follows:

BOSTON, Mass., U. S. A., Sept. 29, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR:—I was highly gratified to receive your obliging letter telling me who was my friendly enemy in the *Dublin*, and giving me a brief account of the reasons which led Mr. Newman to adopt his theory on Development. I thank you heartily for your favor, and if I seem to have been somewhat dilatory in acknowledging it, I beg you not to attribute it to any want of respect, but solely to my want of leisure.

I assure you, my dear sir, that the controversy in which I find myself involved on the subject of Development is no less painful to me than it is to you. Nothing but my strong sense of duty, and the almost positive commands of those who have the right to command me, could have induced me to assume my present attitude towards Mr. Newman and his friends. I have felt, and still feel, that their theory is unsound and exceedingly dangerous; and that I was not at liberty, through consideration for the distinguished individuals who advocate it, to suffer it to pass without doing my best to lay open its real character.

You are mistaken in supposing that I proceed on the idea that Mr. Newman "has devised his theory in a wanton sort of way, as a sort of intellectual exercise." Such an idea never entered my head. From my first reading of the *Essay on Development*, I have taken substantially the very view of his case which you unfold and confirm in your letter; and if I had not, I should hardly have hazarded my strictures. I have never questioned his sincerity, or that of his friends; I have never for a moment doubted that they really believe the historical assumptions, which seem to them to demand this theory, are well founded; and if well founded, I have not been unable to understand that they must naturally feel that some such theory as they put forth is absolutely necessary for their explanation. I have not arraigned their motives, and I have supposed myself to be treating them, especially Mr. Newman, with great personal respect and even tenderness. I have certainly intended so to treat Mr. Newman; for I have looked upon him as having devised his theory, not as a Catho-

lic, but as an Anglican, and have not doubted that he would abandon it in proportion as he became acquainted with Catholic faith and Catholic life.

I certainly did think, and do still, that he and his friends made a serious mistake in their theory, and even in supposing any theory at all to be necessary. Their inability to accept the church without their theory has, I own, seemed to me to detract somewhat from the simplicity of their faith; and their demand that she should accept their theory, as the condition of their accepting her, I have not been able to reconcile with that entire self-surrender, which I have been taught she requires of all who would be owned as her children. They seem to me to have surrendered only on condition,—to have in their theory stipulated that they should be permitted to retain their side-arms and to march out with the honors. Or, in other words, you seem to me not to have believed the church simply, but only inasmuch as you have believed your theory, and therefore you do not seem to me to have surrendered unconditionally. If I am right in this, you have been unjust to God, unjust to the faithful, unjust to yourselves, and may find it not amiss to ask if after all your conversion does not, unhappily, remain inchoate.

You began by taking a certain view of the primitive teaching of the church; between that *view* and her present teaching you have found a difference, a "discordance," as you express it. What then more natural, you may ask, than that we should be unable to submit to the church without some expedient for explaining that discordance, and showing that after all it makes nothing against her claims as the church of God?

What more natural, or more justifiable even, than that having found such an expedient, we should insist on it, and urge it upon the attention of our former friends, and of the Doctors of the church, previously ignorant of it, or afraid to adopt it? So, I doubt not, reason the friends of the Theory to themselves, and you may ask me, what I find in this to censure.

I will tell you, my brother. It is that you begin with the assumption that *your view* of the primitive teaching of the church is unquestionably the true view, that in forming it you cannot possibly have erred. But that view is only the common Anglican view; you have adopted it, not as Catholics, but as Anglicans. Anglicans for these three hundred years have been urging it against us, and for three hundred years our own divines have, with one voice, denied it. Now, my brother, how is it that it has never occurred to you that the Catholic understanding of the Fathers may be deserving of as much confidence as the Anglican; that it is possible, after all, that you may be wrong in your view of the primitive teaching of the church, and that, therefore, it is possible that there is, in fact, no such discordance as you pretend? What I complain of is your assumption of the infallibility of your private judgment in determining the primitive teaching of the church, and that since there is a discordance between her present teaching and *your view* of her primitive teaching, collected from your private interpretation of the Fathers, there must needs be such discordance in fact, really existing, and to be accounted for.

Where, my brother, did you or your friends get that view of ante-Nicene doctrine? From the church,

from her authoritative teaching to-day? You will not pretend it. Whence then? Evidently from your private interpretation of the Fathers. Having thus obtained it, you made it the criterion of ante-Nicene doctrine. Allow me to ask, by what right? Whence, as a Catholic, are you bound to take the doctrine of the church, not in one age only, but in every age? Unquestionably, from the church herself who is always and everywhere the infallible authority by which to determine what she always and everywhere teaches, as well as by which to determine that what she teaches is the word of God. As a Catholic you cannot distinguish between what she teaches in one age and what she teaches in another. For you the church can have no ages. She is *one* and Catholic in *time* as well as in space, and, like eternity, she has duration, but no succession. You must go to her, as she is to-day, to learn what she taught before the Council of Nice, no less than to know what she teaches now. If you assert the alleged discordance, it must be on her authority; you cannot say that she has varied from age to age in her doctrine, taught in one age what she did not in another, in one age doctrines repugnant to those she has taught in others, unless she tells you so. If she tells you so, that is enough; she then confesses her own fallibility, abdicates her throne as the church of God, and you need no theory, for none can save her. If she denies it, teaches the reverse, you cannot assert the discordance, without ceasing to be Catholics. Here, my brother, is my objection to your method, which, as I understand it, is essentially uncatholic.

You tell me, that if I should succeed ever so fully

in showing Mr. Newman that his view is incompatible with the teaching of the church, I shall only "throw him back upon his original perplexity, and shake his whole Catholic faith to its foundation." In this I must believe that you do Mr. Newman great injustice; since, if not, he is no Catholic. I have, moreover, good authority for believing that you wrong him; for he said some months since, to a Rt. Rev. friend of mine, at Rome, that he had no attachment to it, and was ready to retract any portion of it which authority might require him to retract. But do you not see, my brother,* that in the principle you adopt, you set up private interpretation of the Fathers above the teachings of the church?*

One can hardly believe that a man of Ward's standing and character could argue that because Catholics were silent when Newman was searching for a way into the church and left him to find his own way, they were estopped from objecting to the legitimacy of the way that he took, that way being, as Brownson was contending, subversive of the church itself. And, further, that no one should object to his theory—that theory being attacked as anti-Christian—who was not prepared to furnish another warranted to fit. The menace that the refutation of his theory would perplex Newman and "shake his whole Catholic faith to the foundation" sounds strange in the mouth of a Catholic, and is as little to the credit of the client as his advocate. Reading it recalls the saying of Newman that he never gave up his Protestantism; he only clothed it over with Catholicism.

* This is all that can be found of Brownson's draft of a letter to Ward; and the letter sent may vary from this draft.

But the letter and its writer's articles in the Dublin Review were a clear admission that Newman's theory was meant as Brownson understood it, and that he had correctly stated its main points. It was this: That the original revelation committed to the apostles, and through them to the church, was imperfect, inchoate, containing gaps to be filled up in the process of time by the uninspired action of the human mind; and that it is impossible to make a revelation which the uninspired human mind can take in or apprehend, except through long and laborious processes of thought, which can go on only successively, and be completed only after a considerable lapse of time; that Christian doctrine, or the object embraced in the act of believing, is not the revealed fact, but the mind's idea of it, always more or less inadequate, or the form which the mind by its own uninspired action imposes upon it; that it is no objection to a theory, that it degrades Christianity to the level of sects and human philosophy; that no provision was made in the Apostolic revelation, as originally delivered to the church, for infant baptism or post-baptismal sins; that the sacrament of penance was not an original Apostolic institution, but a development effected after the establishment of the church, and after the faithful had become corrupt; that purgatory was a development effected subsequently to the first ages, as a form of penance due for sins committed after baptism; that the doctrine of the Trinity was only imperfectly understood by the ante-Nicene Fathers, and not fully *formed* till the fourth century, and that of the Incarnation remained imperfect till the sixth; and that excepting some of the elements of the principal myste-

ries, nothing is formally of faith till controverted, and judicially defined and declared by the church. Other propositions hardly less startling than these are contained in Newman's Essay; but these are the principal errors which Brownson attacked.

As Ward insisted that Brownson had no right to attack Newman's theory unless he offered a better, Brownson did so, although it was about as logical on Ward's part as if a poet should say: You have no right to find fault with that verse, unless you propose a better. Brownson's theory, that of theologians generally, was thus stated: The revelation made to and through the Apostles was an explicit and perfect revelation of the whole Christian faith,—save certain things which in the time of the Apostles had not yet happened, and which were formally revealed in the explicit revelation, as the particular in the universal, or the part in the whole,—and that this revelation was explicitly and completely delivered over by the Apostles to their successors, and has been at all times explicitly held and believed by the church.

Brownson distinguished always Catholic faith or doctrine from theology: the former is divine; the latter a human science. The conclusions of theologians, save when both premises are from revelation, and the argument by which they are obtained is purely explicative, are not of faith, and cannot be insisted on as such.

"Pejorem sequitur semper conclusio partem."

When one of the premises is taken from revelation and the other from natural reason, the conclusion has only the certainty of natural reason, and cannot be defined as of faith. He was perfectly willing to concede

a development or growth in men's understanding and appropriation of the faith, as subjected to the action of their own minds; but a growth in the revealed truth, objectively considered, cannot be supposed. The faith, objectively considered, is infallible, and the church is, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, infallible in teaching and defining it. But, except so far as actively received and appropriated by our own minds, the faith is to us practically as if it were not. In the reception and appropriation of the faith our minds are not infallible, our conception of it is always inadequate, often mingled with errors. The church does not give us new articles or dogmas of faith by her definitions; but condemns the errors that tend to destroy, or impair the integrity of the original revelation. These definitions cannot give us understanding, or render our conception of the dogma, or even of the definition, adequate and infallible. The church's work in society and in the individual soul is to struggle to render the human conception of the Christian idea less and less inadequate, and to eliminate more and more the errors that mingle with them, so as to advance nearer and nearer to the perfect day, or to a full and complete realization in the understanding, in individual and social life, of the whole Christian idea, or the perfect formation of Christ within us, and our perfect union with God, possible in its fulness only in the beatific vision, the consummation alike of creation and redemption.*

This would seem to be all the development necessary to relieve Newman's perplexities, and he might have accepted it without having his Catholic faith

* Works, vol. xx., p. 373.

shaken to its foundation. That this was the basis of Newman's theory is very likely; only captivated by the predominant theory of progress, which has culminated in evolutionism, and by vagaries of some unorthodox Catholics, like Moehler and Doellinger, he embraced Neander and Schleiermacher's theory of Protestant growth of doctrine, and applied it to the Catholic faith. Unfortunately Newman learned his theology in great part before his conversion, and does not appear, since his conversion, to have re-examined in the light of Catholic teaching the theory he adopted, and might very consistently adopt, while he was a Protestant. He must have been far from aware of the terrible consequences his theory involves, and if he could have been persuaded to study the objections urged against it, he must have held it in as much horror as does every Catholic theologian who has taken the pains to understand it. There is, however, such a vagueness about the theory, and his statement of it is so indefinite and so fluctuating between different principles that no one without very considerable study can catch even a glimpse of its real character.

While opposing Newman's theory, Brownson entertained the most kind and respectful feelings for its author personally, whom he revered as a man of acknowledged ability and learning, of deep and tender piety, of sincere and fervent zeal, ready and willing to do all in his power to save his own soul and the souls of his countrymen, and it was for the special benefit of the members of the school of Oxford Tractarians which he had founded, and to prepare them to follow him into the church that he intended and wrote his essay. The theory was not new; for several years it had entered

more or less into the minds and writings even of some Catholics; but Newman gave it a definite shape, a tangible form, in which it could be seized and refuted. The Dublin Review defended it in two articles which Brownson answered, and there the discussion ended, for the time, with a final article by Brownson, who, after waiting six months for any further argument from his adversary, and none appearing, made his final summing up, saying that he left the matter to the decision of the proper authorities.

CHAPTER III.

SHAW.—GLOVER.—M'MASTER.

AMONG the converts received into the church at about the same time as Brownson, one from whom the most distinguished achievements were looked forward to, was J. Coolidge Shaw, a son of the elder Robert G. Shaw, of Boston. Not long after his ordination as priest he joined the Jesuits, and entered the Novitiate of their order at Frederick, Md., in 1849. Some ten or so months later, the Novitiate catching fire, Shaw was the first to mount the roof, and receiving buckets of water, handed up by the other novices, succeeded in extinguishing the flames. It was a cold evening and probably Shaw's clothing was more or less wet; but he returned, as he was, to the usual exercises of the community until the regular bed-time. This exposure brought on an attack of pleurisy, from which he was delivered only by death a little later.

On entering upon the study of theology, after his conversion by Father Glover, Shaw wrote to Brownson this letter :

TIVOLI, Oct. 14th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR :—The hurry of departure prevented my answering at once the very kind note which you sent me with three numbers of your Review, but I have been very negligent in not acknowledging them directly to you until now, though I long ago asked Mr. McIntosh to thank you for me, in a letter which I learn did not reach America till he had left. Of the Reviews, I kept one, with many thanks, for myself, one I left at St. Sulpice for M. Carrière, I think ; he and the other priests being unfortunately absent, as it was vacation.* The third I gave to Father Glover, a noble old English Jesuit in Rome, to whom, under God I owe my conversion, and who has the soundest and profoundest mind of any man I ever met. He read that and the other numbers of 1844, and that for last July, which I afterwards lent him ; after remarking that he thought it too much for any one man to undertake to produce so much every year, and making a few verbal criticisms on such expressions as "conclude to," "conceive of," "have a fling at," and a few others ;† that even the setting of so precious a gem might be perfect in its slightest details, he took off his spectacles, and said with great emphasis : "This man *astonishes* me; he is clear and strong beyond compare ; that is the most masterly refutation of Kant

* The Sulpitians of the Paris Seminary and the students passed the vacation at Issy, a short distance from Paris.

† If there is such difference between the English and the American use of our common tongue, it must be confessed that to-day, as well as in the days of Lindley Murray, Boston retains its superiority.

I have read." And again, after reading several of the articles a second time, he returned to the attack, "He pleases me more and more," he said, "I think God has raised him to hunt down and destroy the absurd principles now in vogue in politics, in philosophy, and in religion; but," and he went on very solemnly, "*but*, his very greatness makes me fear for him; for unless he be solidly grounded in humility, the success which so great power applied to teaching the truth assures him, will turn his head, and make him forget that he has all from God, and none from himself. May he remember that there have been Origens and Tertullians as well as Augustines." I give you Father Glover's remarks entire, because I think you would prefer them so. He is not the only one in Rome who knows and admires your work, but I think his judgment worth half a dozen others; and permit me to add to his my own warm admiration, and my happiness, and gratitude to God for having made you His and ours; and may he long preserve you for His holy service and the happiness of your friends.

As you may suppose, a second year's experience of religion, and that too in the very centre of Catholicity, has only served to ground me more firmly in the faith, and to fill me with an ever increasing longing for the time when I shall be prepared to go on His mission whom alone I love, and teach others to love Him; for it seems to me that we to whom God has shown such unspeakable mercy are in a peculiar manner commissioned, like his great precursor, to go before the face of the Lord and prepare His ways, "Ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per

viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos oriens ex alto, illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis." And oh, pray God for me, that I may not be unmindful of His call.

I do not know our people as well as I could wish, for I left home at 19, passed more than three years abroad, and spent the 10 months after my return for the most part quietly at Cambridge. I should think, however, that though they may be more ignorant of the Catholic religion than any other part of the country, and on that account may seem farthest from it, they have, nevertheless, more solidity, more sound principle, and more good will, than either the South or West, and hence would make better and more earnest converts than those who appear at first sight to be of more generous nature, for I am inclined to think much of the warmth at the South mere impulse and climate. But my intercourse in Boston, etc., has been chiefly with Episcopalians, Unitarians, and infidels, who are, I imagine, a much better set than the Presbyterian and Methodist part of the community. I wish you would give me some more correct information as to the different sects, and the general spirit of the N. E. people. The Unitarians, infidels, etc., the most sensible, decidedly, are best acted on by sound reasoning; the others, I suppose, by the Bible, and by church history. Is it not so? The four years of Theology stretch out before me interminably long, and intensely interesting as the study must be, nothing I think would make me go through with them, except obedience, and the sense of my inability to be of any use till I have gone through a long preparation.

Mr. Connelly* having spoken to Prince Borghese of your Review, the Prince wishes to become a subscriber; before the commencement of next year I will send my brother the necessary instructions for Mr. Greene for the best manner of sending them, etc., etc. Mr. C. was made a priest in July, he leaves us early in the spring, else he would wish to subscribe himself. I hope the number has not fallen off since you became a Catholic.

If I can be of any service in giving you information with regard to anything in Rome, it will be a pleasure to me. Should I address you at Boston or Chelsea? Please to direct to me, Collegio de' Nobili, Rome, care of Baring Bros. & Co., London.

I hope you will give me a place in your prayers, as you have in mine, and may God grant you length of days with all happiness and prosperity.

Truly yours in Christ,

J. C. SHAW.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Chelsea.

Shaw came home in the summer of 1847, and taking an interest in the discussion of Newman's Development Theory, wrote to Father Glover, at Brownson's request, to inquire what his objections and those of the other Fathers of the society were to Brownson's arguments. Father Glover explained them in the following answer:

* I presume this was Pierce Connelly, who had been an Episcopalian minister, and was ordained in the Catholic priesthood at the time mentioned by Shaw. His wife became a religious in England, and when Connelly relapsed from the church he instituted proceedings in the English courts to compel her return to him. These proceedings, which excited great interest in 1849 and 1850, were not successful.

ROME, Aug. 17th, 1847.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I give you the title, which I trust will be due, when you receive this. I have just received your favor of 13th July inst., and I am unwilling to lose a post, which might make the difference of a fortnight. Your reasons for remaining at Boston, appear to me to be more cogent than any for returning to Rome. The advanced age of your parents, and their extreme desires to retain you, weigh much with me. It is a grace given them by Almighty God, which in your absence they might not have. I think it is a filial duty on your part to second as prudently as you can the merciful designs of God. May they be crowned with success.

I have not yet received from W. Clifford the two numbers of Brownson's Review; so I must write from memory. I have told you before, and I see no reason to change my opinion, that the greatest part of Brownson's critique on Mr. N.'s Development, is very just and cannot easily be confuted. I see, however, that an attempt has been made to confute it in the last number of the Dublin Review. I have not seen the number, and probably shall not see it for some months. I am longing for it. In the meantime, as Mr. B. desires to know my opinion, poor as it may be, of his distinction into positive and negative development, I must candidly say that I do not esteem it so happy, as many other of his distinctions. I should have preferred the distinction into *implicit* and *explicit*.* I will try to explain my meaning. The whole deposit of faith was delivered to the

*Glover first wrote *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*; and then altered these words to those given above.

Apostles, once for all ; and this deposit, and all that it implicitly contains, admits of no increase, or growth. But who can fathom the depths of God's revelation ? Perhaps the Apostles themselves knew not all the riches contained therein. From all we can gather from the New Testament, it seems that the Apostles were content with exacting from their converts an explicit act of faith, on a few leading dogmas, and left the rest to be believed implicitly, in such an article as this : "I believe the holy Catholic Church." Now there can be no doubt that the Apostles were enabled, on the day of Pentecost, to expound, or develope, explicitly, any dogma to its utmost extent, if there had been any need of it, as well as their successors at any subsequent period. But it does not appear that they did so, whereas their successors have developed explicitly many truths, which were implicitly contained in the original deposit. Heresy is generally the occasion of this explicit development ; but not always. The indwelling Spirit of Truth has often enabled holy men, and simple women too, to discern deep-lying truths, which had before escaped notice. At first, no doubt, they were only the private opinions of the favored individuals ; and can only become explicit developments when the church has set her seal on them. Now this is not simply *negative*, but absolutely *positive*. Again, when the church condemns any novelty, generally speaking, she is not content with a simple negation of the error, but she gives a more explicit statement of the truth, and introduces new terms to fix the precise meaning of her teaching. Thus the church ever taught the divinity of our Lord *explicitly*, and *implicitly* believed Him to be *consubstantial* with the Father. Yet there

can be no doubt, that many of the Ante-Nicene Fathers made use of vague language, which could not be allowed after the council had sanctioned the term *διοουσιον*. The same may be said of the terms *θεοτοκος*. Transubstantiation, etc. Now in all this there seems to me to be something *positive*. This is the sum of my objections against the terms *negative* and *positive*. But I have no doubt Mr. Brownson agrees with me substantially, so that the dispute is about words only. I beg now to submit to the consideration of Mr. B. another point in which his zeal may have carried him too far. He somewhere implies, if I mistake not, that Mr. Newman supposes, that God has cast his revelation among men, to be canvassed, unravelled, developed, by the shere workings of human reason. Now, I have reason to believe that Mr. N. will deny this, however his language may be construed into this meaning. Mr. N. professes to follow the doctrine of Catholic Theologians, who certainly admit an explicit development of doctrine; but no one ever taught, or thought that this development was the result of human reason only, but rather the work of the over-ruling Spirit of Truth, who guides the church into *all truth*, and the fulfilment of the promise. "He will teach you *all things* and bring *all things* to your mind, *whatsoever* I shall have said to you." The deposit of faith, with all its hidden treasures, is in good keeping. I have had no communication with our professors, and therefore know nothing of their objections. I have written simply what has occurred to my own mind. I had first written *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*. I hardly know yet whether that distinction might not equally serve my purpose. I have not yet received the last number of

B.'s Review; I feel much honored by his attentions; and I will try to repay them in the only way I can, by a memento in my poor prayers, and offering a few masses for his intention. Thank God, I am now tolerably free from the gout. The supposed plot against the Pope, which has made such a noise in the newspapers, is a shere fiction, though the Roman people were, for a few days, in great alarm. They are now returned to their senses. God bless you.

T. G.

REV. J. C. SHAW, Boston, U. S. of America.

James A. McMaster found fault with the course taken by Brownson in his strictures on Newman's theory, and besides charging personal motives for that course, in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal," he wrote very plainly in his private letters, of which such as bear on the development question are here inserted:

NEW YORK, In Vig. Epiphaniæ, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—New Year's is a fit time to close up old scores and open new ones, and so I choose it to write you what may very likely seem to you a *saucy* letter as coming from so nameless an individual as myself.

On returning from Europe in 1846, one of the first things I read was your first article on Newman's Essay. I felt surprised that N. had fallen into such gross *naturalism* of expression as you charged upon him, especially as he had, in previous of his writings, shown himself very clear sighted as to the evils of such an error—but as I had not read his book, I took it for granted that he had made some inexcusable blunders.

This did not prevent me from seeing that you also made, in your first article, some mistakes—too long to speak of here—and that you turned the edge of your remarks much more against Mr. N. *personally*, than I liked, or thought right. Still, I was even glad to see a warning given against notions of naturalism which have certainly affected many minds and writings that pass in our day for orthodox. But when your second article appeared, I was then sure that you interpreted Mr. N. unfairly, and accordingly I read his book through carefully, which till then I had not cared to do.

What I think of it would be of no importance to state, except accompanied with reasons not to be written in a short letter. What I have written thus far is prefatory to saying that I then concluded that you had mounted (excuse me) anti-development as a *hobby*, and like Bonnetty at Paris, and the Belgian Jesuit of *imagination exalté*, who stands behind the editor of the *Journal Historique et Littéraire* at Liege, in his crusade against the University of Louvain—that you, too, would make this the turning point of all your discussions for five years to come. Under this impression, I resolved that if you were going into a standing and wholesale dispute with men, now Catholics, and with whom are lodged many of my pleasantest recollections, and also of my most fervent affections—why that was a private and not a Catholic affair, and that you and your Boston friends might settle it!

Thereupon I was not slow in expressing my opinion that your Review was to be regarded as the organ, not of Catholicism against anti-Catholicism, but of certain private philosophical opinions, well worth reading, but

by no means to be unhesitatingly admitted. If Catholics in this country had enough of intellectual candor to like what is good, and to distinguish what is not so, I do not know that I should care to change the issue—but unfortunately name and reputation is, in this country, everything. And whether it be sermon or novel what has lost its *prestige* has lost its value. Your Review is certainly calculated to do a great deal of good, and as experience has taught me that, however worthless I may be in myself, my opinions have always had influence and produced effect, when I have expressed them strongly, I am unwilling not to favor the circulation and consideration of your Review. I am going, therefore, to exert myself in its favor—but I want to beg you to let alone that unfortunate topic, which has done you more hurt, and in more ways than you know of. I wrote to Ward some time ago, expressing surprise that he should have taken up the matter in the *Dublin*. I know that he had no more right to speak for Newman and his opinions, than I have—which is the reason, by the way, that he did not undertake to answer your attack. I drew his attention to bearings of the question at issue, which may very likely set him to studying (and perhaps praying) instead of writing—a consummation devoutly to be wished. The question really at issue was explicitly discussed—and the proposition “that dogmas hidden and unknown to the Early Church—though involved really in others explicitly then held and taught, have hitherto, and may yet, beyond our present thought, be brought to light by the Holy Spirit, and by the decision of the Holy See be defined as *de fide*”—this proposition, I say, was main-

tained, and after passing through the hands of doctors, and theologians, and censors, and qualifications, and inquisitors, and universities, amid a fury of opposition from Sorbonists and Bossuetites, and Jansenists, has by ecclesiastical permission been printed in most of the languages of Europe, and by a Papal rescript, has been permitted to be translated into every language of Christendom, notwithstanding any local censures, and this for the greater enlightenment of the learned, and edification of the faithful. And after the first storm had passed away, once and again the question of the beatification of the person who caused all the trouble was moved at Rome, and the most learned of modern Popes, Benedict XIV himself, after reading the folios which contained the proposition and its defence, and also all that was said against it—professed that he was much edified by the writings, and felt a tender devotion towards the venerable servant of God who was their author.

I wish when you come on next to New York that you would find a day to pass with me at my private rooms, and we would look into this matter together—in the meantime, for God's sake, don't say anything about this letter to the worthy clergymen of Boston. When I say that having both abroad and at home found learned and spiritual priests who apprehend and approve my own views of this whole question, I yet wholly conduct myself practically, on the matter, according to the advice and sentiments of a priest who, though learned, is, from circumstances, or at least thinks himself, opposed to the doctrines herein involved; and that I let the matter mostly alone, and except sometimes with the priest last

named, never discuss it. I have a right to be considered in no danger myself, and for the rest have no inclination to be myself discussed by persons to whom I owe no allegiance. If you please to be offended with the impudence that I have chosen to put into this letter, you shall be at liberty, by dropping it in the fire, to get rid of the whole affair—if otherwise, please reserve it for yourself.

In ending, I beg to wish you a *happy New Year*, and all the rewards, in this world and the next, that your labors and trials may deserve, and in the love of Jesus and Mary, remain, very sincerely,

Your humble friend and servant,

J. ALPHONS. McMASTER,

In fest. Epiph.

P. S.

I am very glad that I forgot my letter of yesterday, when I went out this morning. I have broken it open to add this note. I have seen, this evening, your January number, and like the appearance of it very much—tho' what I *least* like is in the parts which I *most* like. I spoke with Dr. Cummings, who mentioned your willingness to come on and lecture here. We are not of the *namby-pambys** and will give you a better reception than you had last year. Cummings is interested, and indeed proposed it first. You had better prepare two or three lectures. Would not *Fourierism* be a popular as well as good subject? You might make it very interesting by giving a full and indulgent explana-

* An allusion, like *latitudinarians*, to Brownson's remark about his Review: "It has not proved acceptable to political demagogues, to namby-pambies, latitudinarians, and radicals; but we have reason to believe that it has met the approbation of the bishops and clergy generally, as well as of the intelligent laity."

tion of all that it professes to aim at and desire—and then give the fatal reason for why it cannot succeed. The reason is itself, it has seemed to me, a most worthy theme for a lecture—I mean the extent and depth of the corruption of our poor nature—so little profounded, and so habitually left out of sight, or evaded, even by Catholic writers.

After seeing your present number, I feel quite penitent for having written such a letter as I did yesterday, but like other latitudinarians, I go on just the same as before, and send it to you.

When you come on to New York, make up your mind to stay for some time; change of air will not hurt you, and beside: “*Desidero enim videre vos ut aliquid impertiar vobis—id est simul consolari in vobis, per eam quae invicem est fidem vestram atque meam.*”

And so, commanding myself to your prayers, in the love of Our Blessed Lady, and of the Infant Jesus, whom to-day we have been adoring, I remain ever very faithfully your humble servant and friend,

J. ALPHONS. McMASTER.

O. A. BROWNSON, LL. D.

About two months later, McMaster wrote:

NEW YORK, March 17th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—I hope you have got safely through with the chief labors of preparation for your April number,—if not, pray throw this letter aside without thinking about it, if you like, without reading it till you shall be quite at leisure. Poor Ward! I wonder how you have disposed of him and his development. Since I saw you I have been looking over your several

articles, and I still confess it *seems* to me that you have in the last modified your ideas of the difference between implicit and explicit faith—that you have come a *peg* or two towards agreeing with the “developmentists” as he has moved on some *pegs* towards your checks and distinctions. I wish you could find it consistent to make it still more so in your forthcoming article.

My object in writing you this morning is to advise with you, or at least to advise you of a new *project* which concerns myself. For more than six months I have been urged by persons, in whose judgment, practical as well as theoretical, I have been in the habit of putting much confidence in other things, to set on foot in New York a new *Magazine*. I, at first, felt reluctance to engage in it, not from doubting its utility, but from dislike to undertake in my own person an affair so full of embarrassments as I fear such a thing must be, in the actual circumstances. From step to step, however, I was led to think that such might be, and even seemed to be the will of God, and at length I was induced to broach the subject to the Bishop—not desiring from him any *previous approbation*, but only his permission and blessing. If you know New York and its Bishop as well as I do, you would not expect that he would have been pleased with the proposition—and in fact such was the result of my first application. The Bishop, however, thought over the matter, consulted with several persons, and of his own accord two days afterward—that is, yesterday, reverted to the subject, gave his permission, expressed his good wishes, and told me to “go ahead.” This is quite as much from him as I expected or wished.

The next thing I wished to do was to apprise you of it and ask your opinion. I am now sorry I did not mention it to you when you were here, but the Bishop's permission was so unlikely a thing, and I had so many other things to talk with you about, that though I had previously intended to speak of it, I let it drop as being too little certain a thing to trouble your time with it. My intentions as to its ultimate character are pretty definitely settled, and I have a reasonable confidence in its practical feasibility. I need not say to you that I am determined it shall not interfere with the sphere or *interests* of your Review. Did I believe it could at all do so, I would not think of starting it on any account. There is a certain *monthly magazine* [The U. S. Catholic Magazine, of Baltimore], however, with whose success, Deo favente, it may materially interfere. Indeed, my object is to make it do the work which the other does not do, though some of us think it ought to have done so. My affair is intended to be practical, simple, ascetical, and edifying for such good people as are not overstocked with brains, or at least, not trained to following theological discussions. Namby-pambyism, *Baltimoreism*, and kindred miseries it will perhaps wail over in private, may sigh over in a voice still audible—not more, but above all, will carefully avoid in its own practice.

But enough of this—I intend it to appear every alternate month, and to average a hundred pages per number. You will smile at the name I have chosen for it—possibly you may not like it—but it is indicative in more ways than one of the tone I desire to reign in it, and I like it—it is to be called simply "Ave Maria."

I have written all this to you because I wanted you

to understand from the first the measure and scope of my intentions—in certain respects at least. There is much more necessary to say for a right understanding of it—but a letter does not suffice. At your leisure I will be gratified to know frankly what you think in the matter.

Meanwhile believe me, with sincere respect and affection, your obedient humble servant,

J. ALPHONS. McMASTER.

O. A. BROWNSON, LL. D., Boston.

Nothing ever came of McMaster's intended "Ave Maria," for before midsummer he had another project. Bishop Hughes, too, was in want of an editor or purchaser of the Freeman's Journal, as appears from the following letter from his secretary, Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, afterwards Bishop of Newark, and still later Archbishop of Baltimore:

"*Private.*"

EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE,
NEW YORK, March 27th, 1848. }

DEAR SIR:—The Rt. Reverend Bishop having resuscitated the Freeman's Journal from the state of debility into which it had fallen, is desirous of turning it over into some good, safe hands. He has authorized me to write to you to inquire if you would be willing to take it *out and out*. Its affairs are in a very sound state, no debt, and a good clean list of subscribers. It would afford you at present a clear income of twelve or fifteen hundred dollars, which might be doubled without much difficulty. No one understands better than yourself how great an instrument of good the Journal could be made in proper hands. Without knowing your mind

upon the subject, there is no need that I should enter into details. If you should think well of the proposal I will, of course, give you all the information you may wish.

The Rt. Reverend Bishop desires me to present you with his best respects.

I remain, with respect and affection,
Your obedient servant,

J. R. BAYLEY.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston, Mass.

Before Hughes and McMaster came to a sort of understanding and the latter bought the Freeman's Journal, the new project was formed of which he writes in June.

NEW YORK, June 12th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am much obliged to you for your kind letter of last week, and especially for your writing to me when you were so busy; but I am sorry that you have forgotten the part that relates to the agency for your Review here in New York. I hope you will either come on yourself or else write definitively about O'Flaherty before the 1st prox., as I am sure O'F. *can* do more than he is now doing for you.

As regards myself, I *think* the affair is settled. This month, or the beginning of next, I expect to start an independent Catholic semi-weekly paper. Each number will be one-fourth larger than the half of the Freeman's Journal (mine will be folio, it is quarto), it will say what I think best on political and other matters, without asking anybody's favor. The clergy, many of whom have been spoken to, heartily approve of it, and

as regards the Bishop, I shall tell him before I begin, but neither ask nor expect his consent.

I may shock you awfully, but I do not consider that it appertains any more to his jurisdiction than to arrange the colors of the coats I shall wear during the summer! To render this more clear, I shall take a purely secular title, such as "New York Times," or any better one that *we* may think of or, if you will, you suggest in the meantime. I hope for it a wide circulation, as it is to have no diocesan trammels nor responsibilities; and as it is to give the news oftener, fuller, and more correctly than the lumbering things that they call "Irish papers." Our friend, George Hecker, is interested, and volunteers to advance, or if need be, lose the money necessary in the undertaking.

I might have formed a connection with several periodicals in New York, and in the case of one, without doing much violence to my feelings. I mean the *American Review*, in which D. D. Barnard is the leading writer. Its conservative notions, though amazingly rotten, admit of my saying a great deal under their cloak. I wrote one article on "Fourierism" for the June number, which stirred up the Tribune, and is said to have done some good among those half inclined to Fourierism. At any rate, it was a good deal talked of, and much liked by those that call themselves conservatives.

I have written a longer article, which will appear next month, on Switzerland. I will send it to you when it appears, for there are some things in it that I think *good*. I would have sent you what I wrote on Socialism, but I thought you would hardly care to read it, as you understand the matter so much better than I, and

especially as it is *patched*—the editor of the Review having asked me, after it was written, to make it twice as long as he said first, and I not having time to re-write it. I believe I will send it to you, however, and also the comments of the Tribune in a slip which I will put inside the Review. Should you care to notice it in the Observer (about which I am honestly indifferent) I beg you will not call me a Whig; which I am not. I am anxious no such reputation should attach to me when I commence my own paper.

But, I repeat, I am not fishing for any notice of it at all. I would not even be likely to see it, as I do not get the Observer since I left the Journal. When I commence my semi-weekly I shall ask the favor of an exchange with it.

As regards European politics, my views would not be worth much to you even if I could spread them at length. I think decidedly cheerfully of them as a whole. The wretched dotard of Naples may lose his lying head, and I shall hardly be able to say that he did not half deserve it—blood may flow freely elsewhere, but I never supposed that such immense changes could be made without disturbance. The Pope, I shall never believe, is agitated and desponding. He may, no doubt, be vexed. He may yet in good earnest be imprisoned, but it will not take a whit from his moral power—it will add to it; and if it strips him of his temporal power I shall not cry out my eyes about it. Is that what you call radicalism? If so, suspend your judgment till you see my article on Switzerland and you will see my other side.

I should like greatly to meet you, but shall never

have time to go as far as Boston. But believe me ever very respectfully and truly your humble friend and servant,

J. A. McMASTER.

Instead of starting an independent Catholic semi-weekly journal, about a fortnight after writing the letter just given, McMaster was back on the Freeman's Journal, now its proprietor as well as editor. The first number of Brownson's Review of which it had occasion to speak, met with a reception from that paper which was very surprising after the correspondence that had passed. Brownson was at a loss to reconcile McMaster's public animosity with his private professions of friendship and esteem; and even McMaster thought proper to give some explanation. He wrote:

NEW YORK, Sunday Evening July 16th, '48.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—You know that in most events of this world there is a secret as well as a public history, and that the former is not always the one that looks fairest—perhaps my notice of your Review is a case in point. The truth is I was sick when that number of the Journal came out; I had written the part of the notice that begins with the article on *Recent Events*, which was the only article I had been able to read; as I wanted the number noticed immediately I sent to Dr. Cummings asking him to prefix a general notice to what I had written, and so he, *without reading it*, reviewed the article on Thornwell—he had good intentions.

As to my part of it, I did read the article on European Events carefully, and on Father Rumpler object-

ing to my notice of it, I read it again, gaining the same ideas as before. This is no doubt the point you particularly object to, my own fault, and I retract. I confess I dislike some things in your article very much; but they are matters of opinion. I think you will be satisfied with a notice I have given anew of your article—which I wrote before getting your letter, but will extend by a clause or two on the point of feudalism. As to the Thornwell article, I will read it shortly, and give a notice of it setting it forth justly.*

Now for a matter really of more importance to you: I was sorry on many accounts not to have seen you on your way through, but on no account so much as on that of the business arrangements of your Review in this city. I have mentioned this matter three times in letters to you, and you have paid no attention to it. At the risk of being thought meddling I press it anew. *Your interests are not attended to in New York.* The July number of the Review, like the April, lay for a full week at Dunigan's after the first of the month; and this irregularity is of itself a grievous injury to the circulation of the Review. Every Mr. O'Rory, of the subscribers, will consider that the delay is an intentional pre-meditated plot of yours to insult his dignity—or at least he will act as if he thought so—and it is certain to do hurt.

I am anxious to see the circulation of the Review doubled and tripled in New York, and I think it can be done. An efficient and honest agent is the great desideratum. I was going to have proposed to you to let us

* The Thornwell article here referred to by McMaster is the second of the series and found in Brownson's Works, vol. vi., p. 452; that on Recent European Events is in vol. xvi., at page 102.

manage the affair for you in our office. We must always have a collector constantly employed for ourselves, and as probably all your subscribers here are also ours, I think our collector will be glad to attend promptly and well to your affairs for 25 per cent. instead of $33\frac{1}{3}$. And I, for my part, would look to it that all went on right. We are not yet satisfactorily settled as to our own agents, but you know the Heckers well enough to know that all will be straight with the men who are employed in their concerns.* You understand me, that my sole intention is to benefit the Review, and I hope you will do something efficiently before the time of another quarter comes round—otherwise, I am afraid that some of the subscribers will drop off.

Do not send me a copy of your Review as I am already a regular subscriber, and moreover Dunigan sends a copy to the Journal. I think you misunderstood my speaking of an *exchange* when I was thinking of a newspaper. I meant an exchange with the Catholic Observer with which I thought you had something to do. Please also not to pay your letters when you write to me.

I feel truly grateful to you for the kind wishes you express toward me, and I will be very sorry ever to disappoint them.

Believe me, dear sir, with deep affection and respect,
your very humble friend and servant,

JAMES ALPHONS. McMASTER.

Even at the risk of seeming to introduce matters foreign to the purpose of this book, it is hard to resist

* The Heckers having advanced McMaster the money to purchase the Freeman's Journal with, looked after the business concerns of that paper.

the temptation to insert here McMaster's next letter, so like him, and which tends to make better known one of the persons with whom Brownson came frequently in contact.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9th, 1848.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I was very glad, indeed, to get your letter, and feel greatly obliged to you for writing me so long an one. I shall not be able to send this till Monday evening at earliest as Dunigan is in Philadelphia, and will not be back till Monday. It is of high importance that your agency here be in other hands as soon as possible, and no doubt, indeed I know that Dunigan will have no objection. The list of right belongs to him, but is in O'Flaherty's hands, and he has turned out such a scamp that there will be no hopes of getting it from him. However, by asking, through the *Journal*, subscribers to give notice of their names and places, I think we can make them all out—any way, the sooner we try the better. It seems best to me that you should still let Dunigan have whatever subscribers he can get, and even continue him on the cover as your New York publisher. What I want to manage and increase is the list of regular standard subscribers in the city. I want that *they* shall be satisfied by getting their numbers promptly, and you by getting your money; and this, I think, I can effect better than any other body. But if special agents elsewhere will get additional numbers to dispose of, so much the better.

I assure you I more than feel gratified at the way you speak of my noisy flash in the *Journal*. Generally, of course, it is thought I am too *hot* and too *heavy*—and in truth I have no idea of keeping up so much excite-

ment as is raised about it just now. But, in the first place, I want to increase its circulation, and I find this just the way to do it, as nobody who is anybody likes to miss seeing a paper that presents each week among other dishes one or two *roasts*. And in the second place I knew as well as you did that the Irish never respect a man till he appeals to their cowardice, and I want to give them a most respectful threshing. The late humbug about Ireland presented an admirable opportunity, and if it had not been for the *cowardice* of one Irishman I would now be occupying a higher place in Irish estimation than I do. But unfortunately that Irishman was Bishop of New York; and he prevented me following up the anti-riot and murder lines on which I set out. It was to no purpose that I demonstrated to him the certainty of the insurrection turning out "in one or two riots put down by the police without the interference of the military," in which my very words came true. And equally little use was it to show him that the *present* indignation of the barbarians would be succeeded by a veneration equally exorbitant when the hopes would be so bitterly and laughably disappointed. The truth was the Bishop was himself completely puzzled and had no idea of considering any one possessed of more political sagacity than himself. So finally, like a boy, on the impulse given by one honest talk by Horace Greeley and some other political wire-workers, he went off with them to Vauxhall, and you know the rest. Next morning he was heartily ashamed of what he had done, had not a word of defence when I quizzed him, and ran off to Halifax to get out of the way. He has returned just in time to hear the *Irish* themselves say that the Journal

was right, politically speaking even, and the Bishop wrong—and, alas for me! the former consideration takes nothing whatever from the poignancy of the latter. All the address and finesse that I know how to use only just suffices to keep from an open hostility. It is easy to see that he deplores the necessity by which he was cornered into selling me the Freeman, or having it sink alongside of a paper wholly independent of him; and you know him well enough to understand that the character and eminent success of the Journal, since I have had it, does not render it more agreeable to him.

Well, I believe I know the Bishop well enough to manage him yet, and a proof of it was in last week's Journal. His article there I rehearsed to him in its parts, told him it ought to be said, must be, and would be,—and then persuaded him that it would come better from him than from anybody else. He wrote it, but I failed somewhat in my diplomacy. My little preface to it, the *sober* remarks upon *fortitude* (of course considered purely in the abstract) with which I brought up the rear, and the scorcher from the Pittsburg Catholic on the next leaf, altogether gave a very natural, even chuckling look to the paper, but made the Bishop look very sorry in his palinode. I did not intend this, but it was so, and I ought to have been cautious enough to have foreseen it. It increases by several degrees the annoyance that the Bishop feels and shows. But my course is taken with him. He is always managed by some one; never acts independently. I am going to undertake the job, and think the Bishop will never sacrifice me as he has done others—because I shall *never trust him, never directly oppose him, and never suffer*

him to cease fearing me. By the aid of God and of these interesting dispositions—which I need not caution you, that I do not proclaim on the housetop—I look to weathering a good many storms, and being still editor when the Bishop shall be entered into his eternal reward. I dare say I shock you *now*, if I never have before. But I differ *essentially* with you as to the nature of my accountability to the Bishop of the place where I am. In your case you have never had to distinguish what you owe to your Bishop and what to your Confessor; and it is a blessing you have not.

Entertain no fears as to my not liking anything you shall write in your next number—on development or anything else. If I do not like it I will very easily *lump* it, as the old saying is, because I shall find so much else to like.

You hurt me when you say that I do not greatly esteem your writings. But you know that in the crowd of business that presses me it must be very hard for me to read, with the care your essays demand, your numbers as they appear, and especially when they are on subjects foreign to such as I may be studying at the time. I am no ways blind to our relative positions. Do you not see in how many instances I have given the Journal a tone that is rather yours than mine? Well, this I do on purpose; every sensible man will see that I am adopting your tone, and as I could avoid it, I think this is an evidence that I in no wise slight the value of the review, that is, of your writings. In every case be you sure that I feel we must and shall pull together, and for this I am ready to sacrifice more than you will even require of me. I know how necessary it is we should do so.

But now I must allude to another subject. I am frightened to hear that the Jesuits are creeping into the city of Boston. Is it possible the Bishop has just now again given them a church? I had thought you were very sound on that subject. So far as I am able to see or learn the Jesuits practice, in an exaggerated form, most of the evils that we deplore in the clergy of this country. And the dioceses at whose establishment they have presided, as Baltimore and Bardstown have been among the worst in the country. Once more, the Cretineau Joly affair in the magazine* which springs from Georgetown College, though penned by a brother of the Jesuit, Father Jenkins, shows how they stand disposed towards the Pope, now that he is not their humble servant. When I have the pleasure of seeing you again I will give you some rare examples of Jesuit doings—particularly in New York where I am ready to admit that they *may be* worse than elsewhere—but in the meantime, if you need the caution, look out for them!

Dunigan has returned. He thinks it best that things remain as they have done till the end of the year. I have concluded that this is best, also.

I am in great haste and can only commend myself to your prayers, and remain most sincerely and respectfully your friend and servant.

J. ALPH. McMASTER.

* The U. S. Catholic Magazine, published at Baltimore.

CHAPTER IV.

TONE TOWARDS PROTESTANTS.—NO SALVATION OUT OF THE CHURCH.—NATIVE-AMERICANISM.—KENRICK.—THE BISHOPS AT BALTIMORE COMMEND THE REVIEW.

IN a preceding chapter reference was made to Brownson's alleged harshness in controversy, and an attempt made to explain the reason for such harshness in his public controversies. What was then said may apply to his manner of treating opponents in private correspondence and conversation. One or two instances will show what is meant.

The Rev. Joseph H. Allen, Pastor of the Unitarian Church in Washington, a very old acquaintance and correspondent of Brownson's, published ten Discourses on Orthodoxy, in which he boldly "denounces as false and mischievous all the doctrinal statements about which men are divided, and insists that nothing should be held essential, or even important, except such points as nobody disputes." In reply to Brownson's criticism of these discourses, Allen sent a long letter to him, setting forth what he understood to be the position assumed by Catholics, and giving his objections to it, at the same time begging to be corrected if he was in error. Reading his letter, one is at a loss to find anything to blame, except what in Brownson's eyes was hardly pardonable, the usual inability of Protestants to set forth Catholic teaching with clearness and accuracy. In answering Allen's letter, there could have been no intention on Brownson's part to bear heavily on his friend personally;

but his words are the harshest I remember in his correspondence. His correspondent, like all who knew him well, only thought them earnest.

"I hasten," he wrote October 28th, 1849, "to acknowledge your favor of the 25th inst. Your letter appears serious, and as such I treat it. I doubt not that you have persuaded yourself that you have seized my meaning and that you really comprehend the position of Catholics. Allow me to suggest, my young friend, that you have a little of the defect which characterizes the body of which you are a member, that of undertaking to comprehend prior to apprehending, or of reflecting before you have thought. This defect proceeds from modern psychologism, in some aspects is characteristic of the age, the precise defect which Bacon is understood to have censured, transferred from the physical world. Psychologism induces the habit of fixing the mind on our intuitions as mere psychological phenomena, instead of opening to the reality revealed in them. Under the influence of this habit, you seek to compress what you fancy an author would mean, if he understood himself, into a formula of your own, rather than to open your mind to apprehend and understand what he does mean. In this way you can construct theories, but can make no real progress in knowledge.

"You translate my statements of Protestantism into a formula of your own; but did it not occur to you that if my meaning had been what it is in your translation, I could have so expressed it that no translation would have been necessary? Did it not occur to you that I understood your language as well as you do yourself, having spoken it for many more years than you

have, and that I understood my own language far better than you do? Did it not occur to you that the necessity you felt of translating my statement into one of your own, might, after all, proceed from your not apprehending my statement?

" You say, making allowance for my position as a Catholic, you can accept my statement of Protestantism. I am not a writer for whom much allowance is requisite, and I am very much in the habit of making my statements in their greatest generality, that is, reference had to the order to which they belong; and you may be pretty sure if you undertake to express them in a greater generality, you will essentially change them. You understand me as saying, Protestantism is 'principle rather than opinion,' 'of character rather than position.' I do not use these terms, and in your manner of understanding them, they do not and cannot express my meaning. Negatively considered, Protestantism is the negation of all principle or principles; positively considered, it is the spirit of error, or simple, vulgar pride. This is my statement; whether true or false is not now the question; but it is a statement very different from the one you represent me as making. The only point on which you and I agree is that Protestantism embraces no fixed or positive form of doctrine. To embrace no fixed form of doctrine means, in my language, to have no fixed principles: in yours, it means having a fixed principle, but a principle that is drawn out into no specific form of doctrine. Character, taken absolutely, is with me always understood in a good, not a bad sense, and means also something determinate; it is not the *genus* or *essentia*, but the *differentia*. Taken

generally, I do not in my article allow that Protestantism consists in character; because I expressly tell you its *differentia* is pride. Now it is not as a Catholic, but as a philosopher that I tell you Protestantism is the spirit of error in general, growing out of the pride of the human heart. Consequently, you must either accept or reject my statement as I make it, and without any allowance for my position as a Catholic."

The severity of the next letter seems not blamable. A perfect stranger writes, in a small, close hand, seven foolscap pages of arguments and objections to Catholic doctrine and practice, which he says "have long been hanging about" his "mind without meeting allay or refutation," and requests "that you will have the goodness to return me your opinion with all the evidence you may be in possession of on the subject." The letter was dated "Worcester, May 5, 1846." This was the answer:

BOSTON, May 7, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—I have received a long, closely written letter, signed Joseph Brigdon, proposing sundry queries to me concerning the devotion which Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. The writer professes to be a convert to the Catholic Church, like myself. If he is a Roman Catholic, as he would persuade me, I commend him to his spiritual director and his catechism for a solution of his difficulties. He, if a Catholic, believes the infallibility of the church, and knows that what she sanctions is just and right. If he is not a Catholic, as he assuredly is not, I shall regard it as time enough to reply to his questions when he proposes them in his true character, and does not address

me, a total stranger, with what he knows I must regard as a false profession. He may be a Catholic in his sense of the word; but, if he be really a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he has not as yet learned the simplest elements of the Catholic faith, and is ill prepared at present for any other than simple elementary instruction, which it will be much more convenient and proper for him to seek of his pastor than of a stranger and a layman.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

O. A. BROWNSON.

As a general rule, however, Brownson's answers to inquiries about Catholic doctrine or practice were marked by great patience in instructing and perfect kindness of tone. To an old Universalist friend who was inquiring for the truth, and after reading all the books recommended from the small catechism to Balmes's European Civilization, wrote: "I exercise no *faith*; I *cannot!* I know that faith without reason would make me a Millerite or Mormon. And you will say, perhaps, that I am a Deist, an infidel. Then it is my misfortune. For I do not believe there was ever a woman, especially a single woman, with no family or children to fill her heart, but wished for a God and Father in heaven, the guardianship of Angels, and the communion of Saints." In reply, Brownson gives some good advice for those who have not faith, yet wish to have it. "I do not expect," he says, "from you *faith* as yet. The work now to be done is simply to remove the intellectual obstacles you find to faith. Faith itself is supernatural, is the gift of God, and is to be sought by earnest prayer. It is a grace; but a grace which you will receive the

moment you cease to interpose any obstacle to it. You have not to get it by your own unaided strength; but you are to use the grace, which God gives to you and to every one so as not to resist it. I can show you that it is reasonable to believe, that you *ought* to believe, but I cannot give you *faith*." He then proceeds to instruction on the difficulties proposed.

Although no large number of Brownson's friends, either of the readers of his Review, or of those who attended his Sunday exercises at the Masonic Temple, accompanied, or followed him soon after into the Catholic Church, still there were some whose conversion he was the main instrument in bringing about. Of those at Brook Farm, of whom this is true, two were ministers, the Rev. William J. Davis, and the Rev. George Leach; to them may be added Mrs. Ripley, wife of George Ripley, the head of that community. After her conversion she devoted herself almost wholly to spiritual and corporal works of mercy; and her labors in New York, especially at the institutions on the islands in the East River, cannot yet be forgotten. Ripley himself never became a Catholic; he hardened his heart on the day when the voice was heard. After he had been for some years one of the editors of the New York Tribune, Brownson made a last attempt; but he put it off, saying what his income had been the past and previous years, and that he soon would have a sufficient amount saved to support him when his occupation was gone, as it would be when he became a Catholic, and that as soon as that time arrived he would ask to be received into the church. Thenceforth he seemed to drift further and further away.

Some men and women in Boston came into the church, led by Brownson's example and reasoning; but continuing in their former business and occupations, attracted little notice. Of the young women in whose conversion he was instrumental, there were some who became religious, notably two sisters and a cousin named Peirce, who joined the nuns of the Visitation, one of whom founded the Academy of Mt. de Chantal, near Wheeling, and is to be ranked, as Sister Eulalia, among the noblest women of the country.

Brownson, in travelling, and he travelled much, took every occasion to turn the conversation with his companions to the question of the true faith. Even on the ferry boat between Chelsea and Boston, and if he met persons at his barber's or butcher's, he commenced a religious discussion. It is not to be supposed that Brownson expected to make converts by these casual arguments; nor will it do to attribute his fondness for them to the idle wish to parade his skill in arguing, or in turning others into ridicule or contempt. The real motive must be sought in the desire strongly expressed by the Bishop of Boston, and entertained by Brownson, to do all in his power to elevate the tone of Catholics in the United States. Two things the Bishop particularly lamented, the timid tone of Catholics and their liberalism. To counteract the former, Brownson everywhere asserted his Catholicity publicly. At one time, he was lecturing in Andover, Lawrence, Haverhill, and places in that vicinity. At the hotel in Andover, one Friday morning at breakfast, which all the guests of the house ate in common, Brownson commanded a waiter in a loud voice to send the landlord to him, and when the land-

lord came, Brownson inquired in a tone heard throughout the room, "Why don't you have something in your house that a Christian can eat?" The other said he had beefsteak and other meats which he mentioned; but his guest interrupted him by asking, "Why don't you have fish? No Christian eats meat on Friday." Fish was soon procured, and the matter ended; but it is very clear that Brownson aimed solely at asserting boldly his Catholicity in the very hot-bed of puritanism. Gradually the Catholic tone became less timid and apologetic; Catholics seemed less ashamed of being Catholics, and then Brownson called public attention less to his religion in his travels, and occasional intercourse with those whom he chanced to meet. As to Liberalism, the Reviewer had had too much experience of it, and too much toil to escape from it, to be in much danger of a relapse; but even if it had been otherwise, the very sound and conservative influence of his Bishop over him, would have kept him from such danger.

His theological essays in the Review for 1845, and the following nine years, were submitted to Bishop Fitzpatrick before publication. To many writers it might have been burdensome to undergo ecclesiastical censorship; but the editor took a brighter view of the matter, and was glad to read his articles to one who could both protect him from doctrinal error, and discuss with him intelligently the subject treated of. For years he had been in the habit of reading his more important articles to his wife before they were sent to the printers, and felt that he had derived benefit from her good sense and calm, clear judgment. By this submission of his theological essays to Fitzpatrick, he was saved from fall-

ing into any erroneous statements of Catholic doctrine, which the neophyte may so easily fall into, and had the satisfaction and the confidence resulting from a consciousness of entire conformity to the orthodox faith. In fact, if it was a burden to any one, it must have been so to the Bishop, whose time was so needed for the duties of his office, that it was no small matter for him to hear and discuss, one or two or more long articles every three months for nine or ten years. Nor did Brownson view it differently, as the frequent expressions of his gratitude and reverence towards the great Bishop expressed in his writings on every opportunity bear witness.

Saving his obligation to maintain the orthodox faith, Brownson continued to discourse on all topics of general interest, according to his ability, inclination, and opportunity, holding himself free to follow the bent or the humor of his mind in the selection of topics and the manner of treating them, studying to deserve popular favor, by doing nothing to court it; to deserve well of the country, by laboring with an eye single to the glory of God, and the good of man intellectually and socially.

The mass of the American people were deeply prejudiced against Catholicity, and at heart strongly opposed to Catholics; and the course generally followed by the latter was only likely to render them more prejudiced and more opposed. Nothing could tend more to give Protestants a mean opinion of Catholics than for these to be tame and apologetic in setting forth and defending their faith. Brownson gave a Protestant lady in Boston a lecture in favor of Catholicity by one of the

most distinguished Bishops in this country. She returned it after reading it, with a note saying she could not bear it, that it disgusted her to find a Catholic apologizing for his religion, which, if true, needed no apology; and if he believed himself divinely sent, he should speak as one having authority.*

The ground on which Brownson took his stand was that the constitution and laws of this country placed the Catholic Church on as high a level as any one of the sects, whilst the appointment of God placed her infinitely above them all. The Catholic was at home here; no man had a better right to be here. He should stand erect; let his tone be firm and manly, his voice clear and distinct, his speech strong and decided. If Protestants appeared delighted when they found us laboring to soften the severities of Catholic doctrine, it was only because in so doing we seemed to them to surrender her infallibility. The conciliating and liberal expressions of latitudinarians, however they may tend to diminish hostility to the church as she now is, are an argument against accepting her for what she claims to be; since they imply progress, improvement, which is incompatible with Catholicity and infallibility. Catholics, by the very fact that they are Catholics, are freed from all dependence on mere human policy. Their truest policy is to have no policy at all. A liberal tone in treating Protestants as, upon the whole, very good Christians, not far out of the way, meaning right, perfectly well disposed, in only inculpable error, and by no means necessarily out of the way of salvation; and in showing

*This lady was later received into the church, of which she has now been a member more than fifty years.

ourselves ready to conform to prevailing modes of thought, and anxious to throw off whatever appears exclusive or rigorous, can only tend to make them distrust our church or our own sincerity. Converts from Protestantism were almost uniformly men who had honestly and earnestly searched for the truth, and Christ has assured us that such shall find it; and judging others by themselves, they as well as Catholics born of Catholic ancestors, were apt to regard all Protestants as honest and earnest in the love of truth.

Heresy is the deadliest of sins. To call Protestants heretics in ill-humor or passion, for the sake of wounding their feelings, is unjustifiable; but to call them so, in reasoning against their heresies, because they are so in fact, for the sake of leading them to reflect on the danger to which they are exposed, is equally in accord with truth and with charity. Not the severity of reason, but the severity of passion must be avoided.

To this opinion, it was objected that, on the authority of St. Francis de Sales, more flies are caught with honey than with vinegar. Brownson replied: "This is unquestionably true, but they who are familiar with the Saint's works, do not need to be told that in his own practice he gave considerable latitude to the meaning of the word *honey*. Certainly, we ask for no more bold and severe mode of presenting Catholic truth, or stronger or severer language against Protestants, than he was in the habit of adopting. Even the editor of his controversial works did not deem it advisable to publish them without softening some of their expressions. In fact, much of the *honey* of the saints generally, especially of such saints as St. Athanasius, St. Hilary of Poitiers

and St. Jerome, would taste very much like vinegar, we suspect, to some of our modern delicate palates."

In discussing the great practical question of salvation, in relation to his own age and country,* Brownson asks what are we authorized and bound by our religion to proclaim to all those of our countrymen whom our words can reach? Here are the great mass out of the church, unbelieving and heretical, careless and indifferent, and it is idle to expect to make any impression upon them unless we present the question of the church as a question of life or death, unless we can succeed in convincing them that if they live and die where they are they can never see God. Be it that those without faith, if you will, are only bound to seek it; it is fair to conclude that if there is one that does not find, he is one who does not seek, unless we would impeach the wisdom and veracity of God.

Brownson, in his essay on "The Great Question," shows that sectarians and infidels who continue knowingly such, are unquestionably lost, and while those who are such through ignorance, in consequence of never having heard about the Gospel, may be free from the sin of infidelity, they are not *therefore* living members of Christ's body and in the way of salvation. There is no possible excuse for American sectarians. "They who are brought up in the church, instructed in her faith, and admitted to her sacraments, if they break away from her, can be saved only by returning and doing penance; and all who knowingly resist her authority, or adhere to heretical or schismatical societies, knowing them to be such, are in the same category,

* Works, vol. v, p. 527. *The Great Question.*

and have no possible means of salvation without being reconciled to the church, and loosened by her from the bonds with which she has bound them. Thus far all is clear and undeniable. But even they who are in societies separated from the church, through ignorance, believing them to be the church of Christ, according to the authorities adduced, are wounded by sacrilege, a most grievous sin, are destitute of charity, which cannot be kept out of the unity of the church, and without which they are nothing, and therefore, whatever may be the comparative degree of their sinfulness, are in the road to perdition, as well as the others, and no more than the others can be saved without being reconciled to the church. But these several classes include all our countrymen not in the church, and therefore, as every one of these is exposed to the wrath and condemnation of God, we have the right, and are in duty bound, to preach to them all, without exception, that unless they come into the church, and humbly submit to her laws, and persevere in their love and obedience, they will inevitably be lost.”*

The notion entertained by some writers (who sought to soften and explain away the definition of a general council, and therefore an article of faith), and which they say originated with St. Augustine, in whose writings I have never found it, and do not believe it can be found, that one may belong to the soul of the church without belonging to her visible body, is shown to be untenable. The church is not a disembodied spirit, nor a corpse. She is the church, the living church, only by the mutual commerce of soul and body. Their separa-

* Works, vol. v., p. 556.

tion is the death of the church just as much as the separation of man's soul and body is his. Communion with the body alone, on the one hand, does not suffice, and, on the other, to suppose that communion out of the body and independent of it is to fall into pure spiritualism, simple Quakerism, which tapers off into transcendentalism or mere sentimentalism. Either extreme is the death of the church which is always to be regarded as at once and ~~indissolubly~~ soul and body. They are distinguishable, but not separable.

The distinction of theologians between the soul of the church and the body of the church has been sadly misapplied in the vain endeavor to excuse those who are aliens from the body of the church, and with the result that might have been foreseen of keeping them such aliens. As a part of the human body may be dead, or beyond the informing action of the soul, so may one apparently, within the visible pale of the church, be cut off from all communion with the church's vivifying power; but as no one ever heard of a man's soul giving life to other bodies or to matter outside of the body substantially united to the soul, the distinction only limits the number of those who are in the way of salvation, instead of extending it. As the only means of union with the soul of the church is union with the body, out of the church as the body of Christ there is no salvation.

No doctrine of Catholic faith has been more earnestly insisted on by the Popes for a hundred years past; and it was in obedience to the Holy Father who ordered all Bishops throughout the world to maintain it that the Bishop of Boston desired Brownson to write in its defence. This he was ready enough to do; for before

he was a Catholic he had believed it, and never for a moment supposed that if our Lord established a church at all, He did not intend that it should embrace all the elect.

It would violate the whole plan and order of redemption and salvation in Christ, if we were to suppose salvation possible without regeneration in Christ by the Holy Ghost. To be saved we must be spiritually regenerated in Christ as we were naturally generated in Adam, so that as the first man, Adam, is our natural head, so the second man, who is the Lord from heaven, may be our spiritual head. We must be born again of Christ, so that he may be our father in the order of grace, as Adam is our father in the order of nature. But no one can have Christ or God for father who has not the church for mother, as St. Cyprian with the consensus of all the fathers tells us. The church is the body of Christ, and inseparable from him; and the very fact that she is inseparable from him, proves that no one can be saved by him without her, and whoever is not saved by him is not saved at all.

An excellent old Puritan lady said to Brownson one day: "Do tell me why you became a Catholic?"

"Because I did not wish to go to hell," he replied.

"Did you think you would go to hell if you did not become a Catholic?"

"Yes, madam; I had no doubt of it."

"What, then, do you think will become of us Protestants when we die?"

"If you die Protestants, madam, you will go straight to hell."

"Do you believe that none but Catholics can be saved?"

"None who do not die Catholics; for out of the church there is no salvation."

"That is a hard doctrine."

"True, madam, but I did not make it, and am not answerable for its severity, if severe it is."

"That is very true," said she, "and if you believe it, you ought to assert it. You would show a great lack of charity if, believing it, you should seek to conceal it, or explain it away, and leave us to feel secure when you believe we are not."

She reasoned justly, and there is no greater cruelty to those out of the church than for Catholics to concede directly or indirectly that they are or may be safe where they are. Certain it is that though many bad Catholics may be lost, none but Catholics can have any well-grounded hope of salvation. It is for this reason, and this reason alone, that we seek to bring all men to Christ in the church, and are so grieved when any one dies out of her communion. Every Catholic knows that out of the church there is no salvation, and the lack of charity would seem to be in withholding the truth as the church defines it, and thus cooling the ardor of Catholic zeal for conversion, and holding out a false hope to those not Catholics.

The only thing that can conciliate is the truth, and the only thing, the grace of God moving and assisting, that can draw men to the church is the assurance that it is only by believing and obeying her that they can save their souls. Brownson had not wanted to become a Catholic; he disliked the very thought of it; but he believed he had a soul to be lost or saved, and if the Bishop to whom he went for instruction had told him

that it was well, but not necessary to be a Catholic in order to be saved, a Catholic he had not become, and the Bishop would have been made to give an account to God for the loss of his soul.

Much of the anti-Catholic passion in the United States was organized before Brownson's conversion, in the year 1844, into the so-called Native-American party. This party was not, as one should suspect from its name, a party opposed to the admission of foreigners, as such, to the rights of citizenship, but to the admission of Catholics. As the majority of foreign immigrants were supposed to be Irish, and these were nearly all Catholics, it was chiefly opposed to the Irish. If an Irish Protestant settled in the country, he mingled more with the American people, and little or no opposition was made to his naturalization. But the Catholic Irish, because they were Catholics and held religion to be man's chief concern, sought to settle near each other, in a neighborhood where a church was, or might be erected, and where they could receive the benefits of religious service. Their apparent reluctance or inability to fraternize with their Protestant fellow-citizens; the dread on the part of native American laborers of competition; the national English contempt for the Irish, transmitted to Americans of English descent; American hatred of Catholicity, and the political ambition of the Whigs, were sufficient to account for the formation of this very un-American party. But, besides these was the active aid of many foreigners. One of the most zealous *natives* was the notorious William Hogan, an excommunicated priest, who advocated *Native-Americanism* in his lectures in Boston and elsewhere; the Orangemen too did

them substantial service in the disgraceful riots, murders, and sacrileges perpetrated in Philadelphia in May, 1844.

Discussing the aim and measures of this party in Brownson's Review for January, 1845,* its editor said in reference to Daniel Webster, then a senator from Massachusetts: "No words of condemnation are sufficiently severe for the political aspirant who would appeal to it (*i. e.*, to the prejudice against the Irish). Every friend to his country, every right minded man, must frown upon it, and brand as an incendiary, as a public enemy, the demagogue, whether in a caucus speech in old Faneuil Hall or elsewhere, whether admired by the whole nation for his transcendent abilities or not, who should seek to deepen it, or even to keep it alive. It is a sad day for the peace and prosperity of the country, when your Websters and your Archers † can so far lay aside their senatorial dignity, and so far belittle themselves, as to appeal to this prejudice; and, to avail themselves of it for political purposes, raise the standard of Native-Americanism. The country, humanity, have a right to demand something better of these men; and, if they do not retrace their steps, and atone for their dereliction of justice and prudence, they will not only be stripped of their hard-won honors, but sent down to posterity amid the scorn and hisses of every man in whose bosom beats an American heart."

Brownson, from the first, had no sympathy with Native-Americanism. In the Essay just quoted on *Native-Americanism*, he set forth what he regarded as

* Works, vol. x, p. 17. *Native-Americanism*.

† William S. Archer was U. S. Senator from Virginia.

the principle and the destiny of this New World, with which Native-Americanism was directly at war. "We have been accustomed," he wrote, "to trace the hand of a merciful Providence in reserving the New World to so late a day for Christian civilization; we have been in the habit of believing that it was not without a providential design, that here was reserved an open field in which that civilization, disengaging itself from the vices and corruptions mingled with it in the Old World, might display itself in all its purity, strength, and glory, and work out for man here on earth a social order which should give him a foretaste of that blessed social order to which the good hope to attain hereafter. We have regarded it as a chosen land, not for one race, or for one people, but for the wronged and downtrodden of all nations, tongues, and kindreds, where they might come as to a holy asylum of peace and charity. It has been a cause of gratulation, of ardent thankfulness to Almighty God, that here was founded, as it were, a city of refuge, to which men might flee from oppression, be free from the trammels of tyranny, regain their rights as human beings, and dwell in security. Here all partition walls which make enemies of different races and nations were to be broken down; all senseless and mischievous distinctions of rank and caste were to be discarded; and every man, no matter where born, in what language trained, or faith baptized, was to be regarded as man,—as nothing more, as nothing less. Here we were to found, not a republic of Englishmen, of Frenchmen, of Dutchmen, of Irishmen, but of men; and to make the word *American* mean, not a man born on this soil or on that, but a free and accepted member of the grand republic of men.

"The great principle of true *Americanism*, if we may use the word, is, that merit makes the man. It discards all distinctions which are purely accidental, and recognizes only such as are personal. It places every man on his own two feet, and says to him: Be a man, and you shall be esteemed according to your worth as a man; you shall be commended only for your personal merits; you shall be made to suffer only for your personal demerits. To each one according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works. This is Americanism. It is this which has been our boast, which has constituted our country's true glory. It is this which we have inherited from our fathers; it is this which we hold as a sacred trust, and must preserve in all its purity, strength, and activity, if we would not prove degenerate sons of noble sires; and it is this which Native-Americanism, so called, opposes,—and because it opposes this, no true American can support it."

At the same time that Native-Americanism broke out against Catholics, especially Irish Catholics, a clamor was raised against the Pope, the authority of the Pope, allegiance to the Pope, and the intention of the Pope to possess himself of this country. Some Catholics, in order to escape the charges brought by Protestants against the Popes, wished to restrict the papal power as much as possible, and were disposed to concede far more to Protestant prejudice and cant than was necessary. Long before Brownson became a Catholic, and when hardly less prejudiced against the church than were the majority of Americans, he saw, and stated in his publications and lectures, that this inveterate hostility, which for so many ages has been manifested against the

papacy, proves that it stands in the way of tyrants and of lawless passion ; that it is, in fact, a shield interposed between the many and the ambitious few, between the masses and their oppressors. The violence with which it is assailed is a proof of its utility, as well as of its divine institution, and should make it as dear to the statesman as to the Catholic. In their eagerness to contradict the falsehoods propagated about foreign allegiance, he would not have Catholics betrayed into statements which would restrict the ecclesiastical or the papal authority further than the divine constitution of the church and its free, unimpeded action will permit. The papal authority, all know, does not extend to civil matters, save by ordinance and consent of civil governments themselves ; but all matters are so mixed up in this life, and all here is so subordinated to the great ends of our existence hereafter, that it is not in all cases easy to draw the line, nor prudent to be over-particular in saying where the spiritual authority begins or ends. Submission in doubtful cases is better than resistance, and individuals in their haste are full as likely to encroach on authority as the Pope is to encroach on liberty. The calamities which have afflicted the church have all come from the effort to destroy its independence, to curtail its rightful authority, and to subject it to the civil power. The complete independence of the spiritual authority, its freedom from all dependence on the civil authority, is the motto of every enlightened friend of religion and of religious liberty.

That the Pope intends to possess himself of this country is undoubtedly true. [He would exterminate error everywhere, by converting its subjects to the

truth. He, as head of the church, does and must labor incessantly to root out all error and to bring all to the belief and to the profession of the true faith; but by moral and spiritual, not physical and carnal force. When the church, and the Pope as its head, shall have accomplished this through its moral and spiritual influences, liberty may be a reality, and democracy not a delusive dream. "In point of fact," he said, "democracy is a mischievous dream wherever the Catholic Church does not predominate to inspire the people with reverence, and to teach and accustom them to obedience to authority. You can have no government where there is no obedience; and obedience to law, as it is called, will not long be enforced where the fallibility of law is clearly seen and freely admitted, and especially where the law changes with every year, or is every year in need of amendment. Reverence for law is in our country already down to the freezing-point, and threatens to fall to zero, and lower. Very few of our countrymen look upon obedience to law as a moral duty. While such is our moral state, it is idle to talk of civil freedom. We have already the germs of anarchy, which events may not be slow to develop and mature. If we love freedom (since freedom is impossible without a well-ordered government, without the supremacy of law), we cannot but seek the predominance of the Catholic Church, for no other can teach and produce due reverence and obedience."

After defending the Catholic Irish against the attacks of Native-Americans, and wishing them to cherish the memory of their native land and to retain for it the warmest affections of the heart, he asks them

to remember that they have not brought Ireland with them to the land of their adoption. He tells them plainly, but not unkindly, that no small portion of the hostility against foreigners, and against Catholic Irishmen in particular, is produced by the forgetfulness of those who conduct the Irish press in this country ; that native Americans have sensibilities as well as Irishmen ; and those who write books or conduct newspapers should be careful not to write or say ought gratuitously that may tend to increase their hostility. "Irishmen in this country have a double duty,"—he wrote in April, 1845,—"a duty to the country they have left, and a duty to the country they have adopted. We say not that they are wanting in their duty to the country of their adoption ; but we do say, some of their writers—and we cannot except our young friend, the author of the work before us* conducting one of the leading Irish journals in this country—manifest an unnecessary forgetfulness of the fact that they are writing for American citizens, and show occasionally an offensive want of respect for American feelings. The Irish Americans constitute a large and an important portion of our population. We welcome them, and we wish them to find here a home, a home which they may enjoy in peace and quietness. We wish no distinction to be made between the native-born and the foreign-born, between the descendants of Irish parents and the descendants of English, Scotch, French, or German parents : and we are confident no distinction would be made, if our Irish fellow-citizens did not themselves make it."

One of the first persons to assist the editor of

* *O'Connell and His Friends*, by Thomas D. McGee.

Brownson's Review by valuable contributions was the Bishop of Philadelphia. His first article was published in April, 1846, and called "Christian Ethics." When transmitting the article, the Bishop wrote:

DEAR SIR:—In compliance with your wishes I have draughted an article for your Review, which I submit entirely to your judgment and correction. The choice of subject was determined by the request of Dr. Bellinger, of Charleston, that the *excerpta* of Dens, published by Sparry, should be refuted. Unwilling to encounter a foul adversary, I have chosen this indirect means of meeting the difficulty, but as the matter is delicate, as well as dry, I do not press its admission into your columns. I offer it merely as an evidence of good will. Wishing you every blessing, I remain,

Your faithful friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1846.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esquire.

In another letter, not dated, but which must have been a year or two later, the same bishop seems to suggest at the end that he should like to write something for the Review, yet not to be certain that he is exactly adapted to writing reviews. The greater part of that letter refers to the antagonism of his organ, the Catholic Herald, against Brownson. This is the letter:

DEAR SIR:—The best apology you can make for neglecting to visit me on your return from the mountain* is to make my house your home whenever you

* Mt. St. Mary's College, near Emmitsburg, Md.

come to this city, and you may be assured of a hearty welcome. The part I now take in the C. Herald is merely to indite some editorial, whilst the selection of the matter is still in the hands of Mr. Major. At his repeated solicitation I consented to aid him, with a view to remedy some things which gave us all pain. It is not very suitable to my position; but I saw no possibility of securing the gratuitous service of another, or of restoring the Catholic tone of the paper. The manner in which your Review was noticed was not the least objectionable in my opinion, since I always felt deeply interested in your success, and highly approved your uncompromising honesty, even when I conceived that some expressions might bear qualification. You must fear nothing from any notice I may take of the forthcoming number, but if anything unfavorable should at any time appear, you may be sure that it springs from a different source. Mr. Major does not seem disposed to write since he got some rebukes from friends, and he pleads his business engagements. He is greatly to be pitied. With a young wife and three children he cast himself on us, and he felt aggrieved when the salary of professor,* which to meet his pressing wants was granted, was reduced to a small sum, the utmost which our struggling institution could afford. This seems to be the secret cause of his embittered feelings, of which such unhappy evidence has appeared in the Herald. The paper does not yield what he anticipated when he contrived to get it out of the hands of Mr. Fithian, for whom we all felt sympathy. I have borne complaining, except on a few occasions, and I now hope that his

* Professor of Hebrew in the Seminary at Philadelphia,

good feelings will return. Mr. Allen* and his family continue most fervent. I urged him to write for your Review, but he found excuses.

I sent an extract from the Pittsburg Catholic containing a long extract from your Review, in defence of the Jesuits, for publication in the Herald, as an indirect atonement for the wrong done you. Delicacy towards him prevented hitherto any *amende* to the Freeman,† who is not free from blame in the strife. On the appearance of your next number, I shall seek the opportunity of doing you justice. I wish I could write for you, but my style is too heavy and careless. I had penned an article, which I submitted to my brother, without succeeding in obtaining the *Imprimatur*. The success of your Review, and your happiness and prosperity are dear to my heart. With sincere esteem and attachment, I remain,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.
O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

After this the Bishop sent several articles of value to the Review, and remained all his life one of Brownson's staunchest friends and supporters. After the Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1849, he wrote this letter of encouragement which was subscribed by all the Bishops who had been at the Council:

DEAR SIR:—After the close of our Council I suggested to our venerable metropolitan the propriety of

* George Allen, born near Burlington, Vt., was one of John H. Hopkins's clergymen. He became a Catholic in 1847. He was made a professor of Greek in the University of Pennsylvania, and was well known for his classical, scientific, and artistic attainments.

† The N. Y. Freeman's Journal, edited by James A. McMaster.

our encouraging you by our approbation and influence to continue your literary labors in defence of the faith, of which you have proved an able and intrepid advocate. He received the suggestion most readily, and I take the liberty of communicating the fact to you, as a mark of my sincere esteem, and of the deep interest I feel in your excellent Review. I shall beg of him and the prelates who entertain the same views to subscribe their names in confirmation of my statement.

Your very devoted friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

Baltimore, 13 May, 1849.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

- † Samuel [Eccleston], Archbishop of Baltimore.
- † Peter Richard [Kenrick], Archbishop of St. Louis.
- † Michael [Portier], Bishop of Mobile.
- † Ant. [Blanc], Bishop of New Orleans.
- † John Joseph [Chanche], Bishop of Natchez.
- † John [Timon], Bishop of Buffalo.
- † M. O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh.
- † Matthew [Loras], Bishop of Dubuque.
- † John M. Odin, Bishop of Galveston.
- † Martin John [Spalding], Bishop of Langone and Coadj., Louisville.
- † M. de St. Palais, Bishop of Vincennes.
- † Wm. Tyler, Bishop of Hartford.
- † J. B. Fitzpatrick, Bishop of Boston.
- † Richard Pius [Miles], Bishop of Nashville.
- † John Baptist [Purcell], Bishop of Cincinnati.
- † John Hughes, Bishop of New York.

- † Richard Vincent [Whelan], Bishop of Richmond.
- † James Oliver [Vandevalde], Bishop of Chicago.
- † John M. Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee.
- † John [McCloskey], Bishop of Albany.
- † Amedeus [Rappe], Bishop of Cleveland.
- † Peter Paul [Lefevere], Bishop of Zela, Coadj.
Admr., Detroit.

- † Ignatius Al. Reynolds, Bishop of Charleston.
- † Andrew Byrne, Bishop of Little Rock.

This letter of the Bishops was doubly encouraging; for while it assured Brownson of the good will and approbation of the American hierarchy, its publication increased the circulation of his Review. The character of that Review, after its editor's conversion to the faith was such as to cause a considerable number of its former subscribers to withdraw their support, as it was not to be expected of Protestants to continue to take and pay for a work devoted to a cause against which they protested. The Review was so decidedly and exclusively Catholic that it must depend mainly on Catholics for support; although a much greater number of its Protestant readers than could have been expected still kept their interest in all its editor published. The number was not large enough to sustain the Review, without other assistance. From the first announcement of Brownson's becoming a Catholic, many of the Catholic Bishops, regular and secular clergy, and laity not only sent their subscriptions but also labored to win others to its support. So much so was this that at the end of the year 1845 Brownson wrote: "The bishops and clergy have, we believe, very generally approved our labors, and to their liberal encouragement and support we are deeply

indebted. On them we must depend for the success of the work, and against their wish we should be sorry to have it succeed, if it could. It is only through them we can receive or are willing to receive the support of the Catholic public for any publication.

"We have aimed," he goes on to say of himself, "to deserve the liberal support we have received; but we are deeply sensible of the imperfection of our labors, and are pained to think how far short our Review falls of what a Catholic review should be. But, novice as we are in the Catholic faith, we have done the best we could. We have aimed to be true to the church, and to be at least sound in the faith. We have not wished to put forth any crotchets of our own, or to attempt to *improve* the doctrines taught us. The Catholic church, faith, and worship, as they are, always have been, and always will be to the end of time, is what we have embraced, what we love, what we seek to defend,—not relying on our own private judgment, but receiving the truth in humility from those Almighty God has commissioned to teach us, and whom he has commanded us to obey."

Brownson had aimed to speak freely, frankly, directly; but he had not aimed to trample on any one's feelings, or gratuitously to offend the most delicate sensibility. He could not always commend; he was obliged sometimes to censure; yet not therefore was to censure more to his taste than to commend. He knew that he was an enemy to no one, and therefore took it for granted he would make no enemies. Accustomed as he had been to writing for Americans, it never entered his head to suspect the touchiness of the conductors of the Irish

Catholic press in this country, and that the warning to them just quoted in this chapter would be the occasion of a hostility to be renewed every three months for the rest of his life. True, more occasion was given of a like kind in his review of Father Ventura's Oration on O'Connell* and other articles; in his honest expression of his opinion of many books sent him for criticisms; and in his free condemnation of the pusillanimity of Catholics in one section of the United States; but the passage referred to was the first of this nature. Not all these enemies were by any means Irish; for the Majors and McMasters were as bitter as the McGees. Nor were all the Irish editors inimical to him; for Dr. Lynch and Dr. Corcoran, of "The Catholic Miscellany," and one or two others could dislike an opinion or an expression without therefore abusing the author.

Some complained that the Review adopted a tone unbecoming a recent convert and a layman; but without justice. The editor of the Review was indeed a recent convert and a layman; but he should not be taken into the account, because the question was not what it was or was not becoming in him to say, but what was or was not becoming in a Catholic quarterly review, and because it was well known that in religious and theological matters he did not speak from his own head, but under the revision of one who was neither a layman nor a convert. Then, again, it was hardly Catholic to look at the editor rather than at the doctrine he advanced. If the doctrine was sound, it must be held, let who will advance it; if unsound, its unsoundness was a sufficient reason for not holding it.

* Works, vol. x., p. 69.

Brownson had never expected to please everybody; he thought it necessary to discuss several vexed questions, which he knew could not be discussed without grieving some worthy people; but the success of his Review, owing to the interest taken in it by the bishops and clergy, was greater than he had expected. The approbation sent from Baltimore, increased that success, at the same time that it encouraged the editor to continue to merit that approbation.

CHAPTER V.

THE JESUITS.—CUMMINGS.—HASKINS.—MILES.—M'CAFREY.—RODDAN.—SHANDY M'GUIRE.

THE BISHOP of Boston, to whom Brownson first applied for instruction in the faith, had been a Jesuit until he was made a bishop. He founded and gave to the order the Catholic college near Worcester, to which Brownson sent his eldest four sons to be educated. Brownson was frequently a guest at the Bishop's table, and occasionally at the college. It was impossible to meet Bishop Fenwick and the fathers at the college, among whom was the Bishop's brother George, without entertaining a high esteem for their intellectual culture and feeling drawn to them by their eminent worth of character. A Jesuit to Brownson seemed the personification of the most exalted Catholic perfection. So much as he had read of the Society of Jesus in history confirmed this opinion, for the lies some have written about

them were to him clearly lies; and just as he saw in the violence with which the papacy was assailed a proof of its utility, the avowed and secret hostility towards the society felt or manifested by the advocates of unsound and heretical doctrines, or of false notions in morals and politics, was evidence that the Jesuits had done service to religion and society.

That the feelings of the Jesuits towards Brownson were as friendly as his towards them, is attested by all his intercourse with them in the different cities where he met them from time to time, as well as by their letters. One of these from the Superior of the Jesuit Mission may be sufficient to insert here as showing their sentiments.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE PAR LEBANON,
Marion County, Ky., 26 Avril, 1846.]

MONSIEUR:—J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer par la poste deux opuscules, l'un du P. de Ravignan que vous connaissez, l'autre du P. Cahour. Ce dernier a écrit comme vous le verrez, pour réfuter MM. Michelet et Quinet, et il l'a fait avec tous les ménagemens imaginables et peut être avec un peu trop de politesse. Mais les circonstances, la position de la Compagnie en France, et le caractère de religieux dans l'auteur faisaient au P. Cahour un devoir d'adopter ce genre.

Veuillez, je vous prie, Monsieur, accepter ce petit présent; je vous l'offre avec d'autant plus de plaisir que j'ai quelque espoir qu'il ne vous sera peut être pas entièrement inutile pour le travail que vous annoncez à la fin de votre excellent article sur l'*histoire des Jésuites* par Mr. Crétineau-Joly.

Arrivé depuis peu de temps en Amérique et quoique encore assez peu avancé dans la langue anglaise, je puis

cependant déjà lire votre intéressante et si franchement Catholique Revue. Dieu l' a déjà bénite, et nous le prierons tous les jours de répandre de plus en plus ses bénédictions sur l' auteur et sur ses travaux. Il y a peu de jours un avocat Protestant des environs s' est présenté ici à l' un de nos Pères: il lit votre Revue; elle l' a éclairé, convaincu et déterminé à rentrer avec sa Dame, et très probablement d' autres membres de sa famille, dans le sein de l' Eglise. Combien d' autres pour la conversion desquels Dieu se sera servi de vos écrits? Courage donc, Monsieur, et confiance, et Dieu continuera à travailler avec vous et à vous soutenir! Nous travaillerons de notre côté à faire connaître et à répandre votre excellent ouvrage, autant qu' il sera en notre pouvoir.

Ayez, je vous prie, Monsieur, la bonté de ne pas envoyer votre prachain No. de la Revue à St. Mary's College, Ky., mais au R. P. Murphy ou à R. P. Thébaud au College de Rose-Hill, près de New York. Les deux PP. y sont déjà depuis quelques jours, et nous nous y rendrons tous dans le courant des mois de Juillet et d' Aout. Vous avez probablement appris que nous nous disposons à quitter le Ky. pour nous charger du collège de Mgr. Hughes à Rose-Hill.

Nous serions tous heureux, Monsieur, de vous y recevoir si vos affaires vous permettroient de faire cette petite course lorsque vous viendrez à N. Y.

Agréez les sentimens pleins d' estime et d' affection avec lesquels j' ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

C. BOULANGER, S. J.

MONSIEUR BROWNSON,
Rédacteur de la Quarterly Review.

Shortly before Father Boulanger wrote, Brownson had defended the Jesuits in his Review, and not long after he received Father Cahour's work he published a review of it by a competent contributor. When the Jesuits were driven from Rome in 1848, Brownson referred to their expulsion in his Review, saying among other things, "We cannot close this number of our Review without expressing our indignation at the expulsion of the Jesuits from Rome and other Italian states, by the pretended friends of liberty and popular institutions. Many people suppose that the Order has been suppressed, in Rome, by the papal authority; but this is a mistake. The Holy Father simply advised or requested them to withdraw to a place of greater security, because he felt he should be unable to protect them from the fury of the mob. Nothing, as far as we have seen, has occurred to indicate the least unfriendliness on the part of the Holy Father towards the Jesuits, or the least want of confidence in them; but many acts and words of his go to show that he holds the Order in high esteem, and its members in warm affection. The expulsion has not been the work of the papal authority, nor has it been effected by the wishes of the friends of religion and the church. It has been the work of radicals and liberals,—a class of men inherently hostile, in every part of the globe, to every man who places religion above politics, the spiritual power above the temporal, order above anarchy, liberty above despotism, the state above the mob.

"These Italian liberals show us, by their persecution of the Jesuits, what sort of men they are, the nature of that liberty they are contending for, and what human-

ity has to expect from their movements." And further on: "Who gave them the right to make war on peaceable men, devoted to religion? What right have they to freedom, which the Jesuit has not also?"*

Father Thébaud, of St. John's College, Fordham, formerly called Rose-Hill, thanked the writer for his words in this way:

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, July 7th, 1848.

DEAR SIR AND DEAREST FRIEND:—I have just received the July number of your Review, and I hope you will allow me to thank you warmly for the short article "on the expulsion of the Jesuits from Italy." Thank God! there are men yet who feel and dare to speak. We cannot but pray for our enemies; but we rejoice to see the mask taken from the face of the enemies of the church, of those who attack her through us.

"We have men amongst us—men passing for Catholics even"—who do not see what you see and express so warmly; may they open their eyes before it is too late.

In the name of all my brethren, of the Italian Fathers and Brothers chiefly, I tender you my most heartfelt gratitude. We have nothing to give you in return but our prayers. God never turns from the afflicted who pray to him. Yes, may God bless you and preserve you yet a long time to defend his church.

Your sincerely devoted in Christ.

AUG. J. THÉBAUD, S. J.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

This same July number of the Review contained an

*Brownson's Quarterly Review, July, 1848, p. 415.

article published in Rome by the Jesuit Father Taparelli, which Dr. Cummings was so pleased with that he proposed translating it for Brownson. In transmitting it he sent the following very interesting letter:

BISHOP'S HOUSE, NEW YORK, May 23rd.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—Herewith I send you F. Taparelli's Dissertation on Prayer. I think my translation pretty good, considering the difficulties I had to overcome. The Dissertation I admire much. It is eminently *suggestive*, and some of the thoughts are new in their form. Perhaps some little touch here and there may not exactly suit you, but it is generally very much in your line. It gives it pretty strong to the heretics, whom you will remark it addresses by their proper name.

I have not added one syllable of my own. If you should wish to make any remarks upon it, perhaps it will be well. F. Taparelli was formerly Rector of the Roman College, then Professor of Philosophy at Palermo. He is known for his philosophical writings in Italy. He is an elder brother of the Marquis D'Azeglio now commander of the National Guards in Rome, and a distinguished author. Dr. Manahan will tell you all about the *Academia di Religion Cattolica*, and the *Annals of Science and Religion*. The number from which I have translated the Dissertation contains an article from the Boston Quarterly Review done into Italian with editorial remarks laudatory in the highest degree of said Boston Quarterly and *Signor Brownson*. By the bye, if the friends of Pius IX do not carry him out of Rome, as some folks fear, I intend to get another proof that the doings of that same Quarterly are not

ignored in the Eternal City. They would have no objection to present you with the cap of a Doctor of Philosophy, a thing which you could only care about as going to show that your sincerity and earnestness is approved of there. It would bring also partially into examination the Articles on Developmentism.

I have heard Mr. McMaster casually remark that he expected an answer from you to a letter he addressed to you not long since. His retirement from the Journal was entirely spontaneous, and in all points fair and honorable. I must say that I was sorry for it, for it will be the death of that paper. But he could scarcely have acted differently if he wished to be anything but scissors-man. Mr. Bayley retired at the same time. The paper is now conducted by John C. Devereux, a young man of excellent intentions, but not possessed of the strength necessary to keep up the reputation it gained last summer. I can say of my own knowledge that several of the leading periodicals in this city would be very glad to have McMaster's pen enlisted in their service.

I remain, dear sir, your sincere friend,

J. W. CUMMINGS,
St. Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y.

After Bishop McCloskey was transferred to Albany in May, 1847, Brownson's annual lecturing visits to New York were looked after principally by Cummings. This in every instance involves some labor and responsibility, but with Brownson the labor was considerably augmented by his habitual carelessness and procrastination in matters of business. He was not always prompt

in answering letters, and when he was, his answer was sometimes delayed in consequence of his distance from the postoffice or of the mean service of that office in Chelsea. Here are two letters from McCloskey, the first of which shows what annoyance was given from these causes.

"NEW YORK, Feb'y 21, 1846.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I am sadly puzzled to account for our not yet seeing you in New York. We expected you here to lecture *last evening*. The Tabernacle was engaged, notices given, tickets sold, etc.—but the storm obliged us to announce a postponement—little dreaming that there would be any disappointment as to your arrival and our fixing with you another day. I wrote to you about the 10th or 11th inst., to apprise you of all our arrangements. Can it be that my letter was not received? You were duly announced in the Freeman's Journal and Truth Teller, which I presumed you were in the habit of seeing.

"Now we know not what to say or do. Could you make it convenient to come for some evening in the first week of March? We could have the Tabernacle next Thursday—but this would not allow us time to hear from you, and give proper notice. Hundreds have already purchased their tickets, and it would be a great pity to disappoint them a second time. Write immediately."

The second indicates some of the difficulties and perplexities connected with lecture arrangements in New York.

NEW YORK, Feb'y 4, 1847.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—I sent you a message by the telegraph on Monday last, and not having as yet received any answer, I take it for granted that the message has not reached you. Its object was to inform you that we have discovered, to our great regret, that there will be so many appeals in different ways to the Catholic people next week, that it will be a most unfavorable time for your lecture. There will be on one evening a ladies' festival for the poor, on another a grand ball (a la New York) for the suffering people of Ireland, and on another a concert for the Half-Orphan Asylum—so that it will be quite impossible to squeeze in your lecture, these having taken prior possession. We have thought it best to defer it until Thursday or Friday, 18th or 19th inst. I hope one or other of these evenings will suit you. Please answer without delay, and direct to Bishop Hughes' box—in that way I shall receive it sooner. The subject Bishop H. prefers is “the Revolutionary Spirit of the Age.”

With great esteem, I am, very truly in Xt.,
† JOHN McCLOSKEY,
Bishop, etc.

Dr. Cummings's first management of a lecture by Brownson was of one delivered in February, 1848. He attended to all the business details, including the collection and disbursement of money. The subject and its divisions were announced in a letter to Cummings as follows:

BOSTON, Jan. 22, 1848.

REV. DR. CUMMINGS.

DEAR SIR:—I sent you yesterday a telegraphic dispatch* saying that I would lecture on the 1st proximo. Mr. McMaster and Dr. Manahan told me that you yourself spoke of more than one lecture, but I thought one would be as much as you would bear. However, as I have given up my intention of visiting the western part of the state, the matter is at your discretion, though I still think one will be enough.

The subject I named was, “The necessity, means, and prospects of the political and social regeneration of Europe,” which I can easily compress into one lecture or expand into three. My purpose in treating the subject will be to distinguish between the assertion of the necessity of reform in Europe and the assertion of the modern doctrine of progress, and to show that the Reform has become necessary, not in consequence of the *progress* of European society, but of the changes which have taken place in the political order which formerly obtained. This might make one lecture. The second point will be to show that the Reform cannot be effected without the agency of a divinely constituted power, taking the lead, and moulding the existing chaotic elements into order, that is, the church. The third will be to show that in the policy and movements of Pius IX, there is an indication that the work is already commenced. These two points may be discussed in one lecture each, or in a single lecture. The subject is copious enough for three lectures; it may also be con-

* The word *telegram*, now found to be a convenient abbreviation, was not used till six or eight years later, when it was first proposed, if my memory is correct, by the N. Y. Herald.

densed into two, and even into one. My preference would be to give it in one, but make such arrangement as you please. I can spare a week or ten days, if necessary,—providing you keep your promise, and furnish me the article for my next number, and make Dr. Manahan keep his promise, for both of which I rely on you implicitness, and without any shadow of misgiving. Do not, however, suppose because I have spoken of two or three lectures, arrangements must be made for them, or my feelings will be hurt; for I really prefer to give only one.

Many thanks for the kind notice of my Review in the Journal. There is an expression in it, however, with which I am disposed to quarrel. The writer intimates that Fourierism in the church might realize some of its benefits. I do not quarrel with the thought, but Fourierism is fundamentally opposed to the church, and in any sense in which it could be *in* the church, save as a heresy, it would not be Fourierism. But this, perhaps, is hypercriticism.

Will you be so obliging as to write me what arrangements are made as to the number of lectures, and believe me with sincere respect, yours truly,

O. A. BROWNSON.

P. S.—Take care and not let L—— have the handling of the proceeds of the lecture.

In transmitting his cheque for the proceeds of the lecture, on April 14th, Cummings says: "I had no idea that this money had been held back so long, and only learned it through McMaster. I proceeded immediately to stir up our friends with efficacy usually personified in 'a long pole.'

"Next year, please God, things will have another appearance. I needed the experience of one year to learn how to direct the matter."

From this time on Cummings took charge of Brownson's lecture arrangements, and he was a frequent contributer to his Review. It was often complained of in Brownson that he was lacking in policy, and no doubt he was in the habit of plain speaking; but Cummings was more so, and some of the most violent attacks on the editor and his Review were occasioned by unpalatable truths plainly stated by Cummings. But he was always sound in doctrine, vigorous in expression, and his topics were seasonable. His peculiarities are quite transparent in the letter which follows.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, NEW YORK, Sept. 1st.

DEAR FRIEND:—I owe you an apology for not sending, or for not having sent my article for the October number of "Brownson." *Ergo* I apologize *juxta praemissa*. . . . Expect in about two weeks from date what I am now concocting. I have been so very busy with my new church, my dear Mr. Brownson, that the time has passed like a dream. . . . I propose to head my article with the title page of Professor Palma's Ecclesiastical History. The gist of the article will be an exposé of the present state of that study, or rather science. It will talk about the readers, and the writers of Church History, and lay down some Brownsonian principles in regard to them. Perhaps, without naming him, there will be a gentle rap upon the venerable knuckles of the author of the "Primacy of the Apostolic See." The importance of Ecclesiastical, and especially papal History, will be alluded to, and I would not make

affidavit that there will not be a very gentle insinuation to the effect that it *may* be within the bounds of possibility that the Apostolic See does not need to be patronized, and apologized for by the sweet Catholic essayist. The article might even venture so far as to bring in some very gentle expressions, amounting to the statement that the Apostolic See is *infallible*, and capable of defending itself. The article will aim at influencing the minds especially of clerical students and their system of studies.

I would like to know what Father Brownson thinks of my Lecture on Law. Several of the papers have commented upon it. The Literary World devoted some columns to it, the Catholic Magazine copied it, the Catholic Herald (God save the mark) said it was not bad, the New York Nation abused it horribly, the New York Tribune positively refused even to mention it, the editor of the American Review *accepted* it whole and entire, the Freeman's Journal copied it, and the Boston Observer, the great uncompromising defender of fearless Catholic principles, treated it just as it did my lecture on "The Temporal Power of the Popes," *i. e., passed it over in silence*. Is it that I am for the second time not strong enough in defending Religion against Infidel Protestants and Infidel Catholics? or is it that I am too strong, and that the *Observer* having gone into cold water and Father Matthewism cannot swallow me?

Be it as it may, I shall never abate one tittle of my zeal in favor of "Old Brownson," as many of the New York priests affectionately call you. My lecture on Law asserted nothing that had not been previously advanced by St. Thomas and the "Review." The "Nation"

says I am a bold man. Very well. I was educated theologically by Palma and Graziosi, and *I know* that there is nothing in your Review they would not endorse, and nothing in it unlike the spirit which it was their dearest object to infuse into me and my fellow students. If *you* will not stand by what little I may have occasion to say in public and to print, then I will conclude that I am to have no friendly readers at all. God bless you.

Believe me yours truly,

J. W. CUMMINGS.

Don't fail to read a lecture to the Herald (of Philadelphia) for its remarks upon developmentism. *Oh tempora, Oh mores!*

Brownson's answer to Cummings is here given:

BOSTON, Sept. 5, 1849.

REV. J. W. CUMMINGS, D. D.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I thank you with all my heart for your frank and whole-souled letter. I have read your Lecture on Law, I need not tell you, with the greatest pleasure. I like it hugely, and I have not the least fault to find with it. It is bold and manly in manner, strong and vivid in expression, and sound in doctrine. It was much needed and will do great good. For myself, my heart exulted as I read it, and I thanked God that there was one among our Doctors who not only perceives but dares tell, without any mincing of matters, the truth which just now needs to be told, nay, continually repeated. I shall give a brief notice of it in my forthcoming Review, although nobody can doubt what my opinion of it must be. By the bye, you tell those reverend Fathers who call me "Old Brownson," that I

am not yet 46, that is to say, not yet in the prime of life, and I cannot apply to myself "Wisdom is the gray hair, and an unspotted life is old age." Pray, tell them that I am *not* old, and not to call me so, unless they wish me to call them young and *verdant*, if you will forgive the apparent disrespect my saying so implies. I do not know why they call me old, when I am not yet five years of age, and shall not be till the twentieth of next month, on which day* if you will say a *pater* or an *ave* for me, I will hold it a great charity.

I like the account you give me of the article you are preparing for the Review. It is just what is wanted, and as your theology is sure to be sound, you need not fear that your hints will alarm me. I might fear to say all myself that should be said, for I am a layman, but I will publish willingly what a Doctor of Divinity,—that is, a *Roman* Doctor, will write on the topics you mention. But I am sorry to say that I cannot publish your article till January,—the last article, except the Literary Notices for the October number, was sent to the printers before the reception of your letter. The next number will be all the work of the editor; but I hope a passable number. The last article I would have omitted, but it was one that would not *keep*† as yours will. I shall have for the January number an article from Miles‡ and that and yours will relieve me, and give me time to do something for my book, which I am writing.

I feel, Dr. Cummings, your kindness in writing for my Review, and regret that I have nothing to offer you in return, but my thanks. Nevertheless, I know you

* The fifth anniversary of his reception into the church.

† "The Licentiousness of the Press," Works, vol. xvi., p. 133.

‡ Longfellow's *Evangeline* and *Kavanagh*.

know where to look for your reward. Articles like the one you are preparing are very much needed, and I have not the requisite learning to write them. I have felt more than ever their necessity in reading the works of the late Bishop England. These works have a vigor and freshness that we do not find in the *Primacy*, but in many respects they are worse. I can conceive nothing, not absolutely heretical, worse than some portions of them, and regret their republication. Gallicanism and Latitudinarianism of the very worst sort are all pervading, combined either with blarney or vituperation. If I had had them before my eyes, and had directed my Review expressly against the policy adopted by the Bishop, I could hardly have done anything different from what I have done. The difference between the Review and the Works is as great as the difference between two Catholics possibly can be. Yet the Bishops have virtually approved the Review.

How is my friend Mac? He certainly must have taken some miff at me or my last number, for he neglected to notice it in his usual manner. I hope he is prospering, and that the Journal survives its temporary difficulties; it is our best Catholic journal, and I have liked it latterly better than ever.

The Observer and I are strangers. Mr. O'Brien, as good a soul as ever lived, a man one must quarrel with every day, and yet love with all his heart, has no editorial tact. It never entered his mind that it would be only proper to notice the Lecture on Law, or if it did, it went out the next moment. But I am sure that his neglect proceeded from no want of respect and affection for the author, or dissatisfaction with the lecture, which

it is altogether likely he has never read. I doubt if he has read more than two articles in my Review for as many years. He probably saw the lecture, saw who it was from, said to himself,—all straight, and being in a hurry, sent it to the printers, and thought no more about it. Do not, therefore, wax wroth against him.

You do not tell me how you prosper with your new church.* Have you got it nearly completed? When I wrote you last, I have a suspicion that I was half out of sorts.† Matters have not gone much better with me since; but when one's revenues diminish one must diminish one's expenses, and I trust I shall, through diminished expenses, be gradually able to recover from my embarrassments.

Let me have your article before the middle of October, for I want to insert it as the first article in the new volume.

Forgive my long rambling letter, and believe me,
yours with sincere respect and affection,

O. A. BROWNSON.

The desire to give greater variety to the readers of his Review induced Brownson to invite a considerable number of his friends to contribute something to its pages, rather than that he was not willing and able to write the whole number himself every three months, and neither the manual labor of writing nor the mental exercise of composing seemed ever to fatigue him. Once he returned home from lecturing after the first of March, with nothing written for the next number, and without assistance he wrote the whole April number in time to

* St. Stephen's Church, 28th street, New York.

† He had just lost about \$300 by his agent in Philadelphia, and \$500 for the Catholic Observer.

have it printed and sent out several days before the end of March, and the number was more than usually praised by the journals. Many of his writings, however, were more studied than any one would suspect. There are many of his articles that he began over and over again, sometimes writing a few pages, and sometimes a great many, and then throwing them aside and starting over again. Frequently, too, the whole essay was rewritten from beginning to end. Such are found among his papers written at every period of his age, down to the very last. The only bodily exertion that never seemed to fatigue him was that of writing, until his hands and eyes began to give out. It was, then, from no wish to gain relief, but solely to render his Review more attractive and more useful that he sought out every one who was likely to help on that work. These generous fellow-workers are no longer living, with the exception of the reverend Clarence A. Walworth and one other not worth naming; for his contributions were of so little value that only natural affection could have deemed them worthy of admission into Brownson's Review.

Partly to preserve from oblivion those whom Brownson looked on as his friends, and partly because their individuality had more or less bearing on his life, letters from some of these are inserted in this work. In the year 1848, the period which we have just been considering, Brownson was pleased with a lecture on the Albigensian heretics by the reverend George F. Haskins, the venerated founder of the House of the Angel Guardian in Boston, and desired it for the Review. It is published in the October number for 1848. Haskins wrote:

BOSTON, May 23rd, 1848.

DR. O. A. BROWNSON.

MY DEAR SIR:—In looking over the lecture again, I am more than ever of my former opinion that it is not worthy of publication in a periodical like your Review. It might make a good series of articles for a newspaper, and I think it would. If you will take the trouble to look it over, you will see that it *reads* very differently from what it *sounded* when delivered. Besides, after all, it is a mere compilation, and not the most skilful one either. The style, too, I perceive is harsh and often out of joint, and in many places appears more like a bungling translation than like an original composition. The conclusion strikes me as stiff, awkward, and far-fetched, as though the writer was at a non-plus to find something to finish off with. It is for these reasons that I do not feel courage to undertake the task of making it what it ought to be, for I am sure I should fail, and perhaps be in a worse pickle than before.

Still you are welcome to it or to any information it contains (and there certainly is a good deal picked up from many sources) if you feel disposed to make an article or cause one to be made upon the subject of the Albigenses. One important point was neglected in the lecture, and that was a description of the person, character, and prowess of Simon de Montfort—that might make a good conclusion for the article.

Most sincerely sir, your friend,

GEO. F. HASKINS.

The first article contributed by George H. Miles to the Review was on the subject of Mt. St. Mary's Col-

lege. In a conversation with the president of that school and Miles, who were in Boston in the summer of 1848, Brownson proposed to the latter to prepare such article. As several months passed without his doing so, Brownson referred to it in a letter to the president, whose reply is pretty long, but contains much interesting matter.

Mt. ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, Dec. 15th, 1848.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your most acceptable letter, for wishing earnestly to keep up an acquaintance which I have found both pleasant and profitable, I still needed encouragement to begin an epistolary correspondence. I have already written to Miles to remind him of his promise and urge him to keep it.

You have no doubt learned from the newspapers the success of his first effort as a dramatic poet. He has beaten all competition, and won a thousand dollars, which Forrest honestly paid him. None of the tragedies offered obtained the first prize of three thousand dollars, because none was suited to actual representation. The second prize was awarded to George because his Mohammed was the best dramatic poem. I explain this because many of the public journals announce it, as if some one else had won the first, and Miles only the second prize. I read his Mohammed last May, and felt perfectly sure that no writer this side of the Atlantic could equal it as a poem. The young poet will not be tempted from his profession as a lawyer. His literary laurels, at this early stage of his career, may bring him into notice and draw business to his office. He can write verse better than prose. He is "of imagination all compact." Still, I

think he can aid you materially and, if I can make him help you, you shall not want his help.

You have to knock under to me as a political prophet. Moreover, I won a dozen cigars from my brother, on the bet that Pennsylvania would give Taylor five thousand more votes than Cass. I found all our clergy from Boston to Emmitsburg wrong in their politics, except Father McElroy.* He was wrong four years before, but *I'm never wrong*, therefore, I will venture another prediction. If the Whig party forget that General Taylor elected their ticket—if they imagine that they elected Taylor, they are doomed four years hence to a more hopeless defeat than they have ever yet sustained.† They have succeeded in spite of themselves, and unless their president shall rule them with the iron will of Andrew Jackson, they will share the fate for evermore of the old Federalist party. Let them attempt to restore the bank or raise the tariff and they fall from power to rise no more. The veto power will sustain itself—the people at large have no objection to it. Neither the iron interest nor any other business interest ruled the vote of Pennsylvania. The Dutch blood warmed to the old hero, as it warmed before to Jackson, and even to Harrison. Then I am told the Quakers all voted for Taylor as the representative of a pacific foreign policy. The shameful injustice and pitiful blundering of the present government in regard to Mexico called for a rebuke, and having lately got through Mr. Polk's

* McElroy had been with the army in Mexico as a chaplain, and his political foresight may have resulted from his desire for the success of his former commander.

† In 1852 the electoral vote was 42 Whig to 254 Democratic; the popular vote was 1,601,474 D., and 1,386,578 W.

message, I would add that a change of dynasty was needed, if only to shorten the public documents.

I'm afraid that, touch the Irish as you will, unless you tickle their vanity, you will stir a hornet's nest. I am altogether Irish, "barring that I wasn't born in my native country." Their nationality is intense, touchy, suspicious, unreasoning, morbid—as irritable and as easily hurt as a patient in inflammatory rheumatism. Their devotion to their religion and its clergy deserves all praise. And they have many other redeeming qualities, as you know. The purity of their women is deservedly proverbial. An Irish woman, cultivated and refined, when truly religious, is the most glorious being in human form, pure and fervent as an angel, merry as a bird, and all heart and soul, of untiring activity and boundless charity.

Bishop Hughes and Bishop O'Connor, perhaps also my old preceptor Bishop Purcell, would join you (I should think) in an effort to save their countrymen from demagogues and their own folly. I will tell you all my mind after I have read your article.*

Perhaps we Americans, as a body, are just as wedded to our peculiar follies as the Irish, with this difference only, that as a prosperous and conquering nation, we never feel that rankling sense of oppression and injustice, which is at once the torment and consolation of the Irishman in all cases whatsoever, whether you smile at his brogue or starve him for the support of luxury. At all events, when you denounce democracy and trace its origin to the devil, I suspect you will find that you have raised the devil in earnest.

* Shandy McGuire. Works, vol. xvi., p. 144.

I have read your socialistic views at the time you edited the Boston Quarterly Review. It seems to me that you never were a true Socialist, Fourierist, or whatever the theory is called. You had strong, ill-regulated feelings—the *ignis fatuus* shone bright and beautiful to your eyes—you ran after it in hot haste, fancying it was the saving truth and shouting *euphza*; but you could not long remain in such a mire, dazzled by such glimmering lights,—mere exhalations of a fallen, dead, corrupt humanity; and you were all the while looking for better things. You were struggling upwards and admitting new rays of truth into a darkened mind, but one in which God saw and into which he inspired some willingness to receive the light of Heaven.

I have also read your refutation of Fourierism and have wished that you should again take up the subject and discuss it much more thoroughly. You have perfectly satisfied the Logician, that the fundamental and all-pervading principle of the system is anti-Christian, therefore false, impious and baleful, but the popular mind—and indeed the great majority of your readers need an exposure of the parts as well as of the whole. We all need instruction, which you can give us. The ablest opponents of pagan errors and apologists of primitive Christianity were often converted pagans. St. Augustine as a Theologian derived profit from his early wanderings among the mazes of heresy. It strikes me, that the cry for social reform, for “la république sociale,” shows among other things a sense of the utter inability of political institutions to make men happy—shows what you seem once to have felt—a yearning after the church. I do not speak of the leaders, the philosophers

of the movement, but of the crowd, who know their misery and want a remedy. Socialism has come forth at the devil's bidding to turn their eyes away from the fountains of life and lure them to perdition.

What a commentary on Socialism the indisputable fact that the closer men are crowded together, the more corrupt they become, unless the "*salt of the earth*" be there to prevent putrefaction—and alas, with it, they are bad enough! Vices are much more contagious than virtues. Even religious communities are but too apt to degenerate.

I long to see you handling the thesis: "No morality without the infallible church." Protestant infidelity, or any other modern infidelity, is worse than the old pagan infidelity, inasmuch as the former confronts the truth of God and denies it, the latter had lost it in the natural progress of man's corruption and degradation. Yet he who in Terence's *Heauton timoroumenos* drew thunders of applause by his "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto,*" had exposed his infant child, whose accidental preservation and discovery forms part of the plot and interest of the play. Infanticide was a thing of course among Greeks and Romans, as I believe it is among the Chinese, and it is becoming common with us. Madame Restell escapes any real punishment. In England they have found it necessary to hang such a woman, according to late papers. Other crimes too horrible to name are on the increase. Chastity is not a Protestant virtue—vide Laing and parliamentary reports on the rural districts of England. What but the moral teaching of the church, the priesthood, the confessional, can save the world from a lower depth than the lowest

reached by paganism? Your Channings and Parkers are poor successors to Plato and Socrates. Yet among the old heathens the people believed, while the philosophers doubted and disputed. Deity, immortality, future rewards and punishments were sentiments or convictions with the people—they were questions for the philosophers. Our whole system of mercantile business is one of fraud—all candid merchants will acknowledge it. Custom-house oaths are proverbial. Doctors murder the unborn infant. Lawyers plead any case and use any plea. All things are fair in politics. Governments must sustain themselves by falsehood and crime. Jurors swear to try a man according to the law and facts, and yet decide against both, from *conscientious* scruples. The world is flooded with demoralizing books. Parental authority is almost extinct. Opinion governs all. “Woe to the world,—I pray not for the world—the world is altogether seated in iniquity.” Yet men’s consciences must be regulated either by a God-established church or a godless world.

My object in boring you with these scraps of speculation is to set your mind agoing in a particular direction. You need not, however, and I guess you will not, be much influenced by my fancies. Every one to his own hobby.

I am considered a thorough Brownsonian; but I have noticed that even those, who always find you ultra, grow less cautious and timid in upholding the truth by reading your Review. I find fault sometimes with a phrase, but not with your views and spirit. Did you not say in your last number: “The church *abhors* mixed

marriages?" I think the phrase too strong.* I condemn you out and out for the phrase "to go for a measure," or a principle, or something of the kind. "I go for Taylor," or "I go for the greatest good of the greatest number," is political slang. I find it glorious sport to criticise the critic, review the reviewer. Let me only catch you in a logical fallacy or a clear heresy, and you'll see how I'll crow over you.

I pray you remember me to your good Bishop and the warm hearted clergy around him, whose genial hospitality and extraordinary kindness I will never forget. I wish they would give me an opportunity to repay it.

A metaphysical article, not too abstruse, would have interest for some of your readers. A true science of Philosophy is all important for us and you can command the respectful attention even of Protestants to such discussions.

If I have tired your patience, you invited the infliction. So I offer no excuse, but beg you to believe me, with great respect and esteem, truly your friend,

JOHN McCAFFREY.

McCaffrey having written to Miles, as he says at the beginning of the letter just given, the latter lost no time in preparing his article, and wrote at once to Brownson.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston:

MY DEAR SIR:—Yesterday morning I had a letter from my Godfather, the Rev. John McCaffrey, reminding me of a promise I made you in the summer, which,

* Brownson said: "The church abhors mixed marriages, and if she sometimes tolerates them in order to avoid a greater evil, she refuses them her benediction. She never ceases to admonish her children to avoid them." Works, vol. xix., p. 257. I call that sound Catholic doctrine.

like most promises, has never been fulfilled. When you asked me for an account of the Mountain, I thought you did it chiefly in compliment to the President; and when you asked me to contribute to your Quarterly, I felt that it was a privilege conferred on me, and not a favor asked from me. I went to Cape May and consumed the summer in recruiting my health; in the fall I launched into the Taylor campaign. In the intervals I had to labor to keep myself alive. I am more independent now, and will work for you as I would work for my Godfather himself. If you find my manuscript acceptable, the compliment will be the greatest that has ever been paid me. Please answer this, and name a subject with one or two hints, and I will go right straight at it.

My dear sir, I am very grateful for the warm interest you take in me. I can only offer you in return the warm love and great respect of a poor, miserable sinner, who wishes by his pen to make Catholicity poor amends for the injury of his example. It has been my good fortune to be often loved by those whose virtue should make them avoid me; but I think that my gratitude has been increased by the knowledge of my unworthiness. Please present my best respects to your family and to Bishop Fitzpatrick, and believe me ever yours very truly,

GEORGE H. MILES.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 18th, 1848.

The article on Mt. St. Mary's college was published in the April number of Brownson's Review for 1849, and in the same number appeared a notice of the "History of Maryland, from its first settlement, in 1634, to the year 1848," by a Catholic gentlemen educated at that college,

who had not the manliness to mention his Alma Mater or any other Catholic college in the State, but only named one or two feeble institutions under Protestant control that hardly any one had ever heard of before. Miles's article was timely as amends for the historian's neglect. It was just such want of courage in regard to Catholic matters which McMaster called Baltimoreism, and which made Brownson say that "a hundred Baltimore Catholics wouldn't have the spunk to chase a wet hen from her nest." Other contributions of Miles to the Review deserving of special mention are his criticism of Longfellow's *Evangeline* and Kavanagh (January, 1850) and the ode on Inkerman (October, 1855).

The Reverend John P. Roddan was one of the most voluminous as well as valuable contributors to the Review. Brownson's first acquaintance with Roddan may be said to date from the Autumn of 1848, when he received the following letter from the young ecclesiastical student:

PROPAGANDA, ROME, Oct. 14, 1848.

HON. SIR:—Excuse the liberty of one a stranger to you. I hope that I shall not be always, and I have no claim upon your attention other than the fact that our lives are devoted to the same high object.

I wish to call your attention to an affair in which I believe that you are already as much interested as man can be. I mean the establishment of an ecclesiastical library for Boston, and especially for the Seminary, which, as I believe, is in fieri. God knows that America has need of such libraries; perhaps no city needs one so much as Boston does, considering the peculiar character of the enemies with whom we have to deal.

When I was in Boston I did not know enough of theology to be able to say whether we had a good library or not. My impression is, that we were unfortunate gentlemen in reduced circumstances, so far as books were concerned. Mr. Williamson's library contained a great many books which may be had in America at any time, but it has been removed, and the Bishop's library was destroyed. I do not recollect any other.

Besides, we should have a library which will be subject to the Bishop *pro tempore*, and to him alone.

Two circumstances served as indices by which I could arrive at a knowledge of the real state of things. When Americans visit the library of Propaganda, they invariably exclaim, What a *great* library it is! Now it does not contain more than 20,000 volumes, and its chief value consists in the rarity of the editions of the Fathers and Scholastics. In Rome it is a small library.

The other fact is this: When your Review of October arrived in Rome, it was read by a great many people. Some observed to me, what sort of a library have you in Boston? Mr. Brownson quotes Perrone and Billuart, elementary authors, as though they were Fathers! He cannot get Vasquez, and it would seem that for Suarez he has to depend upon some quotations.*

I knew that you must have access to all the theological books that Boston possesses; so I held my tongue. This being the case, I began to think of putting in execution a project which I have nourished for some time,—to appeal to some of the influential Catholics of Boston, and see whether they would not author-

* This is said in Brownson's reply to Ward, Works, vol. xiv, p. 90, et seq.

ize me to collect suitable books. My fellow students from America do so, but I have not the requisite authority, nor the money.

I have written to two men eminent for their charity and for their public spirit, Messrs. Carney and Nichols. They can do this, but *will* they? To leave nothing untried, I thought of writing to you and to one or two others; knowing that you could induce these gentlemen to do something, confident that you would if an opportunity should occur. If they do it, the new library would go by their name, I suppose.

Good books are selling daily. There is now on sale a small collection in Propaganda, but it is valuable. Among other books is the Bibliotheca Patrum, now out of print.

A decent little library might be collected for \$500, but I should want one or two thousand. The Bibliotheca would cost about \$50, the Bollandists, Baronius, the Councils and the Bulls are the heavy works. S. Thomas, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, and the greater Fathers and Doctors cost \$10 and \$20. A philosophical collection would cost nearly \$100; \$500 would do something; \$1,000 would bring a good library; \$2,000 would complete one.

I beseech you, then, to say a word to the Bishop and to these two gentlemen, if you can. You, of all others, know how important the thing is, and any attempt at proof would be an insult.

Most faithfully yours,

JOHN P. RODDAN.

O. A. BROWNSON, LL. D.

After he was ordained a priest, and returned to his native country, Roddan was settled at Quincy, Mass., with one or two missions near by. In addition to his pastoral duties, he was for some years editor of the Pilot, and wrote many articles for the Review. It was a common thing for him to go to Chelsea before noon on a Monday and discuss with Brownson the questions in which they were both interested, with a very few hours' intermission for rest at three or four o'clock in the morning, until the Wednesday afternoon. None of Brownson's friends, unless Dr. Cummings be an exception, agreed so completely and understandingly with all his political, social, religious, and philosophical views. His mind was quick, clear, and deep; his expression, whether speaking or writing, flowing and easy, and plain to understand. He wrote articles on the Italian and Hungarian Revolutions, etc. The main defect of his style was its extreme diffuseness, arising perhaps from his long residence in Italy; but a strange contrast to Brownson's strong conciseness. It would hardly be believed that the compiler of "The Young Catholic's Fifth Reader" gives as the only specimen, in the entire series, of Brownson's style an article by Roddan on "St. Peter and Mahomet." Was this the result of malice or of ignorance?

The Reverend John Boyce, pastor of the only Catholic church in Worcester, was not a contributor to the Review; but as there has been occasion to refer to the criticism of his book, it is as well to say here that he published his very entertaining novel, "Shandy McGuire," full of fun and frolic, but written for a serious and noble purpose, in 1848. In sending the first of the

two parts in which the novel first appeared, "Paul Peppergrass," the author, wrote:

WORCESTER, Sept. 7, '48.

DEAR SIR:—I send you the only copy of "Shandy McGuire," 1st part, I can procure, and even that has been already somewhat thumbed.

Mr. Dunigan, in his letter of to-day, says he had a copy to send you, but on reflection thought it better to wait for the second part and send both together. He thinks, as I do, that your review of the entire work is likely to be more favorable than your review of the first part. But if you say anything of this 1st part—parce peccatis in misericordia tua. I suppose you have seen the Truth Teller's review—if you permit me to use such a term—if not, read it for your *instruction*.

I think it would be well to have the lecture early next month. I hope to see you soon at your residence. In the meantime, believe me yours very sincerely,

JNO. BOYCE.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

On receipt of the complete work, Brownson wrote his article on Shandy McGuire,* in which he highly extols the novel, which, he says, could have been written by none but an Irishman, and a Catholic Irishman, and which presents the Irishman to us as he is and as he ought to be. The reviewer soon passes from commendation of the work as a story, to consideration of the higher purpose of the author, and discusses the Irish and Ireland. He knew well enough, and if McCaffrey had not been at the pains of saying it, everybody in

* Works, vol. xvi., p. 144.

America knew, that to touch this subject was to stir up a hornet's nest. Brownson believed Boyce's book an indication that now that Smith O'Brien and the Young Irelanders' insurrection, which could never have gained anything for national freedom, had failed, the genuine Irish voice would be heard—the voice of enlightened patriotism, of manly feeling, sound sense, and practical judgment. Not from the melodious wail of Moore, exciting compassion, but killing respect; not from bombastic orators and ignorant editors, turning even Irish virtue and nobility into ridicule; but from the true Irishmen who represent the sober sense and enlightened judgment, the faith and piety, the reasonable hopes and practical tendencies of the nation, when they come forward and are able to place themselves at the head of affairs, must Ireland look for the redress of her grievances. In the course of this article Brownson discusses allegiance to the British Crown, repeal of the Union, separation, landlords and land tenure, with a view solely to Ireland's good, and in a tone of practical statesmanship which ought to commend this essay to the study of her children, and with a friendliness that only the most absurd oversensitiveness could find fault with.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CATHOLIC PRESS.—CONVERSION OF BROWNSON'S OLDEST SON.—PURCELL.—KENRICK.—M'CAFFREY.—MAJOR.—NEW YORK LECTURES.—CUMMINGS.

DEMOCRACY, as it exists with us, every sensible man knows, is a great humbug, the people are led as much as they are under any other form of government;

the leaders are different, more numerous, more hungry and more despotic. Party organizations, party usages, caucuses, conventions and nominations prior to elections, in wards, towns, counties, states, and the nation are contrivances of damagogues to govern the people and derive a profit from them, as they are not capable of managing for themselves. Wealth, learning, rank, and power are all trusts to be executed for the well-being of the people. The shameful abuse of these trusts has given a pretext to radicals for carrying on a war against them. The people need and may receive the benefit of law, yet cannot all be lawyers. So of medicine, so, above all, of theology. Is it to be supposed that all men understand the science of government by nature and without study?

Discussion of great questions of government in a congress of statesmen, on the merits of the question, where each party is obliged to seek for and to confine himself to the truth, is necessary in any but a despotic government, and its results are beneficial. The contestants are there held in check, are forced to be exact in their statements, and close and rigid in their deductions; for the slightest error, they know, will be detected and exposed. But before a popular audience, the parties, knowing that the tribunal is incompetent to decide the question on its merits, are free, so far as exposure is concerned, to seek only a verdict, and consequently, to hold themselves free and to resort to any methods that will secure it. False assertions and false reasoning, if they will weigh with the public, will answer their purpose as well as the truth. One party may detect the falsehood or the sophistry of the other, but what of that?

In the appeal to the people, the falsehood is reasserted, the sophistry reproduced, and, as likely as not, with triumph.

Making those judges who should be learners renders them proud, conceited, arrogant, turbulent, and seditious. The unreasoning, undisciplined, and conceited multitude, incapable or impatient of following step by step a long and closely linked argument, demanding some mental training and application, reject as heavy, uninteresting, and therefore worthless, whatever is profound, goes to the bottom of things, treats a subject scientifically, or transcends their capacity. The newspaper press, to meet the popular demand, must be light, shallow, and trashy, or else it will be looked upon as not worth reading at all. Hence Brownson said, if it were an open question, whether we should or should not have a newspaper press, he was by no means sure he should not vote in the negative. But it is not any longer such question. If Catholic editors do not employ the press to diffuse Christian doctrine, and to defend the rights of the church and the freedom of religion, as well as social order and the rights of man, no small portion of the modern world will be abandoned to demagogues, infidels, and heretics,—or, in a word, to the socialism of the age.

With these views of journalism, Brownson published in his Review for January, 1849, an article on the "Catholic Press,"* in which he gently criticises the Catholic editors in this country. They now and then forgot their place, and seemed to regard themselves as commissioned to superintend the bishops

* Works, vol. xix, p. 269.

and clergy, and to dictate their policy. He would have the press act as the servant of the church, under her direction. Not counting the Boston Pilot, the Truth-Teller, the Nation, etc., which, though owned and conducted by Catholics, were devoted chiefly to secular matters, there were ten English, two German, and one French weekly Catholic journals in the United States, conducted, in general, with learning, spirit, and ability. In all but one or two there had been a manifest improvement in the last two or three years. They had assumed a bolder, freer tone, and taken wider and correcter views; especially the Freeman's Journal, the Pittsburg Catholic, and the Propagateur Catholique, of which the first-named was, in his judgment, already superior to the London Tablet.

Perhaps it would have been better for Brownson, who, while impervious to condemnation by the secular and acatholic press, had since his conversion been most sensitive to any criticism on the part of bishops or episcopal organs, not to have mentioned the names of the first and second of these last three journals; for the other eight Catholic papers were far from believing themselves less deserving of commendation than those named, and joining with those which had been set aside as secular or national, though conducted by Catholics, brought something very much like McCaffrey's hornet's nest about the reviewer's head.

As to the Catholic Herald, of Philadelphia, it made very little difference to Henry Major, the editor, what Brownson wrote. He was embittered, if not crazed, by his disappointment after he became a Catholic. He published his reasons for joining the church, and

Brownson's favorable criticism of the book, which W. G. Ward complained of in a letter given in a previous chapter,* was ineffectual to placate him. He had persistently manifested his hostility, and was no more unfriendly after than before this neglect to appreciate him at his own valuation. Many years afterwards, when the Reverend Dr. John M. Forbes abandoned the church, and went back to the Episcopal communion, of which he had been a member before his conversion, that communion received him back as a minister, in spite of his "apostasy." On learning of this decision, Major went back too, and resumed his former clerical character. I believe, though, that he recanted again before his death.

The Catholic Telegraph, of Cincinnati, had never seemed very friendly to Brownson, though Bishop Purcell, who had the principal hand in its management, had on several occasions manifested much affection for him, and no cause is known for any disagreement or resentment. In fact, when the Bishop tried to find one, he was very hard put to imagine one. To go back to their early correspondence, it may be remembered that Brownson's eldest son had sailed for Calcutta before his father's withdrawal from his Unitarian pulpit.† Returning home in the early part of the year 1845, he was amazed to find his parents Catholics, and went immediately to Ohio, where his mother's sister and her husband, Goodrich, had an academy. They received him gladly, and put him to teaching. Mrs. Goodrich, like her brothers, belonged to the sect which used to be called Christians. Orestes, with all his prejudices against the Catholic church, had, as all Protestants have, doubts about

* *Ante*, p. 42.

† *Brownson's Early Life*, p. 317.

religion, and talked much with a Mr. Powell, the minister, on the subject. Unable to tell how far the minister was right or wrong, he asked his father what he thought and what answer he could make to some things the minister said, so that he might have both sides of the argument to reflect upon. In answer to several letters, his father wrote him:

August 28, 1845.

MY DEAR SON:—I have received your letters. I thank you for them, and am glad to hear you are well. I should have answered your letters before, but have been so busy I have really not had time.* If you wish to investigate the subject of religion, you must go to work methodically. You must know what you are after, and have some leading principle to guide you. What do you mean by the question, Was the *first* church founded at Jerusalem? There was no *first*, no *second* church founded. There has never been but *one* church. This church began when man fell in the Garden, continues to the consummation of the world. It came down through the Patriarchs, the Jews, and the Catholic Church. The Jews believed as we believe, only they believed in a Saviour to come, and we in a Saviour that has come, and their sacrifices were types or figures of the real or true sacrifice which we now have.

The Christian church, as distinguished from the Jewish, began unquestionably at Jerusalem. Nobody denies this, or thinks of denying this. The church was at Jerusalem before it was at Antioch, and it was at Antioch before it was at Rome, though it was at Rome

*Of course, he had time for an ordinary letter; but not for a discussion of the matters involved.

before it was at Constantinople. The precedence is not claimed for the church of Rome because it was prior in point of time to all other churches, but because it was the See of St. Peter, to whom belonged the primacy among the apostles, and because it received from the chair of St. Peter the principality or chiefdom, as St. Irenæus, who lived in the second century and was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been instructed by the blessed Apostle John, tells us. St. Peter, by establishing his See at Rome, made Rome the centre of unity for the church, and made the Roman church in the person of its Bishop, as the successor of St. Peter, the mother and mistress of all the churches. This is the doctrine as laid down by all the ancient doctors and fathers of the church, as can be easily proved, and has been over and over again.

What Pope John of Constantinople you mean, I know not, but if you mean St. John Chrysostom, in the fifth century, you will find that, though Bishop of Constantinople, he did not claim to be pope, and wrote expressly in defence of the authority of the See of Rome. You say, from the best information you can get, St. Gregory the First was the first pope. What do you say of St. Leo the Great, St. Celestinus, Sixtus III, Boniface I, St. Zosimus, St. Damasus, St. Julius, and St. Sylvester, all predecessors of St. Gregory, and as much popes as he was, claiming, exercising, and conceded as much authority as he was? We have a list of all the popes, the date of each one's accession, and of his death, down to the present Pope Gregory XVI. The notion that Pope Gregory was the first pope is abandoned by all intelligent Protestants themselves, and if your Camp-

bellite minister told you otherwise, he is either altogether ignorant of ecclesiastical history, or he did not deal honestly with you. While I wish you to take no assertion of a Catholic without his giving you authority for it, I must beg you to be extremely on your guard against the assertions you meet with in Protestant writers. I make myself no assertion to my son that I am not fully able to prove. If I was base enough to try to deceive others, I trust he will not believe me base enough to deceive him. John Jejunator, the Pope John you probably mean, did not claim to be pope, or superior to Gregory I, but *universal* bishop, which the pope is not, and which is a title and office unknown to the church. Gregory was one of the best men that ever lived.

I wish you to study and act on the exhortation of Col. II, 8: "See that no one deceive you by philosophy and vain fallacy, and the tradition of *men*, according to the rudiments of the world, and *not according to Christ*." This is an exhortation I beg you, my dear son, never to forget. The church prohibits you from suffering yourself to be carried away by philosophy, the pride of human reason, or man's wisdom, she denies the authority of the traditions of *men*, and tells you you are not and cannot be bound by them, but only by the tradition that is *according to Christ*. All else is vain fallacy. But what is tradition according to Christ, that is, the Christian doctrine as received from or delivered by Christ himself? Who will tell you that? Rev. Mr. Powell? What evidence can he give you of that? How can he assure you that he is not giving, instead of the doctrine of Christ, his own doctrine? The Bible? But what assurance can he give that what he gives is the Bible, and not

merely his interpretation of it? Your own judgment? But how can you be certain that you yourself may not mistake the true sense of the Bible? Neither he nor you are infallible.

You will observe, my son, that the text does not condemn *tradition*, but only the *tradition of men*. If the tradition the church requires you to believe be the tradition of *men*, you, of course, will reject it, but you must first be assured that it is a tradition of men, and not a revelation from God, before you have the right to reject it. She says she received it from God, and you must first show that she is worthy of no credit, before you can tell her she does not tell the truth. *Tradition* means something delivered or handed down, and the Christian revelation itself is a tradition, and if you mean to reject all tradition, you must reject that. Thus says St. Paul, 2 Thess. II, 14. "Therefore, brethren, stand firm, and hold fast the traditions which you have learned, whether by *word* or by our epistle." Tradition may be written or unwritten, it matters not which. What you are to beware of is not tradition, written or unwritten, but the tradition of *men*, for you are to receive as faith only what God has revealed. But on this point you will find some further remarks in my next Review.

I cannot give the meaning of the canon you cite, for I cannot read it in your writing, and you have given me no reference so that I can find it elsewhere. Furthermore, canon law is not a matter of faith, and is not necessary to be understood in order to be saved. It requires a special study to master canon law, as it does to master the civil law or the common law, and before any particular canon can be interpreted it is necessary

to know the general rule for interpreting canon law, and the particular occasion for enacting the canon in question. As you seem to have turned your attention to the canon law, will you tell me where the canon you cite can be found? Whether it is genuine or spurious? now in force, or whether it has been repealed? Will you tell me when it was enacted, by whom, and on what occasion, and for what purpose? Whether by a provincial, national, or ecumenical council, or by the pope? All this must be known before the canon can be interpreted, and this I cannot know till you tell me where I am to find it. But, my son, it will be worth while, if the canon is quoted against you, to ascertain if they who quote it know all this, for Protestants make great and laughable blunders when they undertake to deal with canon law. It is a subject none of them understand. But the real question for you to settle, is, did Jesus Christ found a church, and give it authority to teach? If so, which of the so-called churches is it? Your Aunt Dolly's church dates, I believe, from Alexander Campbell, and has no historical existence prior to him. In the mean time give her and her husband my love, and a father's thanks for their kindness to you. Give our love to Uncle Jesse and aunt. We are all well. Your mother remembers you in her prayers and her love for you is sleepless. Be a good boy, and God bless you.

YOUR FATHER.

The Goodriches wanted Orestes to teach French. Orestes knew very little of the language, and so it was thought best that he should go to some school where it was correctly taught. On inquiry, they were informed

that French was better taught at St. Xavier's College in Cincinnati than anywhere else in Ohio. Orestes accordingly went to the Cincinnati college, and his father wrote to the Bishop soon afterwards to request him to interest himself in the matter. The Bishop's letter was written at once.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 18th, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of receiving, last evening, your letter of the 13th September. Bishop Fenwick will probably have informed you that I had, in part, anticipated its contents, by introducing your interesting son and namesake at the St. Xavier's College, where he now boards and pursues his studies under the care of the good fathers S. J. Rev. Father Elet, Rector of the college, received him affectionately, and under his enlightened and judicious training I have no doubt that Orestes will be diligent in studies, successful, virtuous, and happy.

The pecuniary arrangement for board and tuition will be easily made. You, dear sir, are not, I believe, of the "Plutocracy," as Sidney Smith would say, and even if you had belonged to that, much or little favored portion of our race, your late sacrifices at the shrine of truth must have commenced, at least, to place you in a different category. I, therefore, beg that you will have no anxiety on the score of expenses for this son, unless it be for clothing and books, but leave that matter in the hands of Father Elet, who will be happy in attending to it, without inconvenience to himself, or to you. But of this he will, doubtless, speak to you himself, officially.

Orestes seems fond of conversing on the subject of

religion with one of the students of the Theological Seminary. All begin to like him much. One of the number, Mr. De la Croix, recently from France, will give him private lessons in French; and similar facilities will be afforded of acquiring an acquaintance with chemistry, theory and practice, as Mr. Goodrich requested.

We should have been much gratified if it had been in your power to visit us last July, when you were this side of the mountains. Another time, as we have now better grounds for hope, we expect to be more fortunate.

If you are as good at praying as you are at writing, it must be worth something to get a pater and ave from you. Do, kind and dear sir, say a short prayer for the success of the Holy cause in the west, and especially in Ohio, and believe me to be, with best wishes for your own happiness, with great regard.

Your obedient servant,

† J. B., Bishop of Cincinnati.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Soon after the Bishop wrote again.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 9, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—I should have sooner announced to you the glad tidings of the baptism of your beloved son, Orestes Augustine (Augustus) Xavier, on the feast of St. F. Xavier. I had the very great happiness of performing the ceremony in his behalf and that of a very interesting young man from Natchez, his school fellow of his own age or thereabouts, at the invitation of the Rev. J. Elet. His fellow-students, many of whom

received the Holy Communion at the Mass which followed, assisted at the affecting scene, and doubtless while they remembered their own baptismal engagements, united with the neophytes in promising to love God with their whole heart, and their neighbor as themselves, and in abjuring the devil, the world and the sinful desires of the flesh. I need not assure you that Orestes, in a matter of so much importance for his temporal and eternal welfare, was not induced to take a single step without being first convinced that it was right to do so, and this, not by any human persuasion, but by the Divine grace. Your prayers have thus been crowned with success, your example has been faithfully followed, the son that had strayed from his home has returned to it, the son that was dead has come to life again.

One of the professors in the college, and a very pious and worthy lady, Mrs. Lucy O'Shaughnessy, a convert to our Holy Faith from Quakerism, were the sponsors of Orestes. It was a happy day at St. Xavier's.

In a conversation with the principal of the college, some two weeks since, I discovered with regret that I had, to a certain extent, mistaken the terms on which he had received Orestes, and unwittingly led you into the same mistake. It seems he intended charging half-price for your esteemed son, whereas I hoped he would make no charge. I had deeded all the property to the fathers, gratis, and leave them at perfect liberty to employ its resources and extend the facilities the college affords according to their own sense of right.

Your kind felicitations on the dedication of my cathedral, I beg to assure you, I deeply feel and most

gratefully acknowledge. It was a heavy undertaking, and it is not yet, nor will it be for many years, completed. It is much, however, that it can be occupied.

How cordially do I respond to your eulogy on Rt. Rev'd. Dr. Fitzpatrick. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance when he was in the Seminary at Paris, and of hearing the opinions of his worthy superior and professors, as well as of his fellow students, respecting his virtues and his extraordinary capacity. May God preserve him such for many, many years, and grant us many like him!

It may not be amiss to say that in the report of the dedication of the Cincinnati Cathedral, but especially in the article describing it, in the Baltimore Catholic Magazine, there are some serious inaccuracies. The plasterer with whom I made the contract was a Catholic, though he had a Protestant partner, and none others would do that part of the work cheaper, or could do it better. My residence was not presented to me. I have to pay for it every cent. How difficult it is, even when means of knowledge abound, to be always accurate; and what marvel when this is so, that history contains so much—as the Indian said—to be told another way!

God bless and prosper you in all things for His glory! May we fight the good faith [fight?] in our various fields of labor and according to our measure—and meet in heaven!

Yours most respectfully,

J. B., Bishop of Cincinnati.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Such having been the relations between the Bishop and the editor, as these letters indicate, Brownson

remonstrated with the Bishop concerning the hostility shown towards him by the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph in speaking of his Review for January, 1849, as well as the course of that paper generally in his regard. The substance of his letter is sufficiently indicated by the Bishop's reply.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 25th, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter of the 16th inst. A few days previously I had requested Rev. Mr. Whelan, who resides with me, to send you my own and one or two others' subscriptions to your much prized Review. As the Conahans have discontinued their former business, and with it the agency of the Review, my brother will, if you approve, and as long as you cannot do better, be your agent here. If not now too late, he will, as he anticipates your approval, or rather, thinks it already expressed in your letter to me, publish a notice to that effect in this week's "Telegraph." Of course, he neither asks, nor expects, any pecuniary compensation.

I am surprised at the remark which you make: "The only notice I have ever seen of it (the Review) in the C. Telegraph was a severe censure," etc., for two reasons, first, because I know it to have been highly extolled in the Telegraph—and large demands made from time to time on its contents for the instruction and edification of the readers of the Telegraph. And secondly, because I do not believe it possible that the uncompromising Reviewer who visited poor Bryant with such "severe censure," and almost thrust back the Oxford developmentists among the heretics, and was

free to find fault with Bishop Kenrick's not having taken stronger grounds in a former edition of his work on the Primacy, was himself so sensitive as to call that "severe censure" which was hardly meant (by me, for I did write it) for censure at all. And if *it* caused you any pain and regret, as indeed you assure me it did, I myself feel pain and regret as far as God sees that I have done wrong in writing or inflicting it; and, in this view, sincerely humble myself and ask your forgiveness, which I am sure you are too good a Christian to refuse. The truth is, Beloved and Honored Friend, without pretending to know as well as you who were "to the manner born," what suits the Protestant mind of New England, or of the rest of the Union, I did fear that forgetful of the spirit and the traditions of a Cheveris and a Matignon, your Journal was likely to revive, though infinitely its superior in talent, the "Jesuit" of unhappy memory. I might have been wholly in sin in yielding to this fear, or holding to this opinion—and I may be now wrong in expressing it to you, for I very much distrust my own judgment in such matters, and I should not wish it to be hastily adopted by any one. But I do declare it after all, for what it may be thought to be worth.

It is not convenient for me just now, to refer to the numbers of the Review and the Telegraph to which you have made reference, nor is this necessary. You reply, as the Metrop. Magazine did, that you had thrown in sufficient caveats against the meaning I attached to your words. Those caveats escaped my notice at the time, and all I can remember of your words now is that you broadly asserted that "marriage was a sacrament

when blessed by the church,"* implying that it was not such when not blessed by the church. I will not argue with you whether this can fairly be called an open question; for I write only to assure you of my humble, it is true, but, nevertheless, sincere admiration of your learning, virtues, and zeal, and my desire that your excellent Review may be as well sustained and as extensively circulated as it deserves. As to the second point to which you have referred, I entirely concur in the view of it taken in your letter.

There are other matters of which I should like to speak to you—but to write of them is inexpedient. I wish we could see you once here. Because we could not get the right kind of orator for our St. Peter's Benevolent Society Anniversary, we preferred having none. But, if we had had the good luck to have you, how gratified we should all have been. This theme—provision for destitute female orphans—would open up to a mind like yours the inexhaustible riches of the Catholic church, and I have no doubt that your sojourn in this city would add largely to the subscription list of the Review, and I have an hundred dollars subject to your order—for you are poor as we all are—whenever your arrangements will admit of your honoring us, in the mid-west, with a visit. The time most agreeable to you will suit us, and we shall be an hundred fold more delighted if, in addition to a discourse, or oration, on the subject adverted to, you would address a Cincinnati audience on any other or others in which Catholics and Protestants need enlightenment. Fret not at any little contradiction you may encounter in the church or from

* This was in an article from an occasional contributor.

sincere Catholics. You are no better than our Common Master—not better than “Cephas”—not better than Fénelon or Bossuet, etc., etc. “If any man will come after me, says the Saviour, let him *take up his cross DAILY* and follow me.” I have my own share of the heavy load just now; but “I know whom I have trusted.” “In Cœlo quies.”

With profound respect, your humble friend and servant.

J. B., Bishop of Cincinnati.

O. A. BROWNSON.

On the same day on which Purcell wrote this letter, the Bishop of Philadelphia wrote Brownson that he could not control Major, of the Catholic Herald.

DEAR SIR:—I have forwarded to-day by Adams' Express an article on the Girard College, which, if it suit your Review, is at your disposal. Professor Allen gives me hopes that he will aid you, although his views as to persons and things—for instance the poet Woodworth [Wordsworth?]—may, he fears, present contrast rather than variety.

I penned a favorable notice of your last number for the Herald, but the *altum vulnus* of the editor did not allow him to publish it. He complains of being cruelly treated by the Catholic press. My sympathy for him in his pecuniary difficulties induces me to bear what in any other circumstances would have determined me to dissolve all relation with him. As he has noticed somewhat favorably the enlargement of the Observer, a kind word in the columns of that paper might operate as balm.

It will encourage you to know that your article "Church or No Church," has led a physician (I cannot recollect his name) to embrace the faith at Georgetown, as Father T. Mulledy assured me.

A young man, 25 years of age, son of the late Mr. Alston, member of Congress from North Carolina, lies here at the point of death. He has embraced the faith, and is in excellent dispositions. The brother and sister-in-law of Charles Bellenstein, whose sudden death was related in the Herald last month, have followed his example in entering into the church. But of these facts it is better to say nothing in the papers.

With sincere wishes for your health and happiness,
I remain your faithful friend in Xt.,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Jan. 25, 1849.
ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

The article on Girard College, referred to in the last letter, was published in Brownson's Review for April, 1849. In February, Kenrick made some additions, but the matter was already in type and they were therefore not inserted. If Kenrick's miscellaneous writings should ever be collected in a volume, these additions ought to be made in that essay.

Dr. McCaffrey's criticism of the articles on the "Catholic Press" and on "Shandy McGuire" given in the following letter, are interesting and worth considering in connection with those articles; and as they were written solely for Brownson's benefit, are probably more candid than most newspaper reviews.

Mt. St. MARY'S COLLEGE, Jan. 17th, 1849.
O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—I have read your last Review with great interest and close attention. You have disappointed me. I expected to find something wrong, something to differ about in your article on Ireland, if nowhere else. One or two of your assertions strike me with surprise. I doubt, though I may not be able to disprove them. Their inaccuracy would not, however, affect your main argument. P. 75* you say: "The English landlord has as much legal power to oppress his tenantry as has the Irish landlord," etc. The tenant's right to occupy his farm, I had thought, was much better secured in England than in Ireland, and better in some parts of Ireland—Ulster v. g. than in others. This I had inferred not merely from the declamation of repealers, but from glancing at parliamentary motions and discussions. I do not want to put you on your defence, but to prevent the repetition of an error, if it be one, which sophistry might turn to its advantage.

I do positively contradict your statement at the bottom of page 68†—that the abominable measures adopted for the suppression of the Catholic religion have been abolished in both countries by the Catholic Relief Bill. I know not how many penal laws yet remain on the statute book—dead letters indeed—but they will not repeal them—and the Repeal Bill itself contained some new penal laws. It excludes the Regular Clergy, for example, from Great Britain. Probably you know these things better than I do. Still your assertion is incor-

* Works, vol. xvi, p. 162. † Vol. xvi, p. 155.

rect, and supposes justice done, where foul injustice still remains.

I have always agreed with you in holding that constitutions *grow*, are not made. I have taught it for years, but have made few, very few disciples. It must be taught the more carefully and perseveringly. I have taught, in direct contradiction to the Declaration of Independence, that governments derive their powers from God, not from the consent of the governed. But even Catholic students of Theology can often see the $2+2$ without finishing the equation. Figures, facts, and logic are the weakest things in the world when opposed to prejudice or passion.

I was one of O'Connell's admirers, yet found much to condemn in him. I fear the evil results of his course may far outweigh the good—the hatred of the Saxons, the irrational Celtic pride,—the reliance upon speechifying and menacing parades,—the intolerance of difference of opinion, etc.

Humanly reasoning, I see little hope for Ireland, save in the downfall or humiliation of England. The English Catholics are a nerveless set, and English Protestants, whether bigots or sceptics, are very heartless towards their Celtic brethren. Irishmen, I fear, cannot be reasoned, coaxed, or whipped into any rational behavior towards the sassenach. The misfortune is, that by trying to cure them of their errors, you incur their ill-will. If any good can be done, now is the time and you are on the track. Three or four papers are in your wake. I have just read Bishop Hughes' Pronunciamento. I thank *you* for his declaration that this cry of Liberty "is a nuisance."

They are just getting up a new paper in New York to be called the People. I read its prospectus to these words: "Republican institutions are the ultimate destiny of man," and threw it into the fire. Some Irish refugees, with that Yankee Robinson, are to conduct it. Then there is the Nation, by T. D. Magee; then the Boston Pilot and N. Y. Truth-Teller. The fault in dealing with them is this: We say they have done harm, and *if they do not amend*, they must be put down. If they do not amend? But they will not—and cannot amend. Their editors and contributors are men of wrong opinions and bad principles. Therefore, never hereafter mention or even allude to them, except as things to be condemned for the evil they have done, and to be avoided for the evil they will do. I can see why a bishop or pastor may not feel bound to touch this nuisance; but I cannot understand how you or the Free-man's Journal can affect to hope any good from them.

I find that on page 15* "A miserable demagogue alleges that she is anti-democratic, etc."—you have not expressed your meaning clearly. I may deny that the church is anti-democratic, as you in fact deny it, and maintain that she is neither democratic nor anti-democratic. And I may entertain the objection thus far, without "raising politics above religion, without subjecting church to state."

To complete my list of criticisms, I must request you to insert the preposition after the verb *help*, when it precedes the infinitive mood. I don't remember where, but somewhere in your recent number, you have omitted it, and it seems not accidentally or typographically.

* Works, vol. xix., p. 283.

As to socialism, all good men must thank you for dragging it into light and giving it so many mortal thrusts. Your experimental knowledge of it enables you to pierce through its many disguises and to trace the one monster evil in its various workings and manifestations. I did not for a long while know how to account for the modern cant of all light literature and boarding-school misses, which may be summed up in one pet phrase, "*This is a beautiful world.*" What little I have read of Bulwer is infected throughout with socialism and only excited my disgust. Dickens, with •so few ideas, and unconscious of any system, is helping the bad cause and all English poetry of the present day, I suspect, nearly all recent poetry is in the devil's service.

McSherry has not sent me a copy of his History of Maryland, but I learn from the newspapers, that it is for sale, and will get one. If you or any of your friends desire to review it fully, do so without hesitation. I will not have time to do anything for your next Review, having already engaged to preach a charity sermon, yet to be written, and another set sermon, and being truly overwhelmed with occupations as president, professor, and pastor. McSherry graduated here with high honour and has lent his talents freely to the service of religion. Miles is at work for you. He is a good boy and never disobeys me.

This form of an important argument strikes me as useful. What is it that we obey, when we obey the law or magistrate? Not a piece of parchment, not a man our equal, and no man—not the will of the majority (for neither in the general nor in state governments is

this result always procured);—not the people unorganized, for they can neither make nor repeal a law, neither make nor unmake a magistrate,—not an abstract idea called the state, the government,—our farmers and mechanics don't deal in abstractions. What then? The will of God. Governments then derive their powers, not from the consent of the governed, but from God. In rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, we are rendering to God the things which are God's, for it is God who says “render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.” I have been scrutinizing your arguments, hunting in vain for a flaw. Is there any flaw here? This was part of my sermon last Sunday night—a sermon for which Protestant democrats would have turned me away, for they *will not obey God*, any more than Protestant Whigs, or Nativists. Apropos of democracy, when you execrate it, you must explain a little more. Do not tire of repeating definitions. I agree with you, that democracy, as it stands in the popular mind—as it is understood by at least four-fifths of us and by nearly all in Europe—means among other things, rebellion—resistance to established authority; but as it does not technically mean that, nor necessarily—and as the people never define their own ideas, you would at least do well to define them for us—and moreover a definition repeated and learned by heart is often the whole argument, I do not wish that you should try to rescue the term, for that would be labor lost. Yet, as it is a name of power and a name dear to many, touch it prudently.

I find the religion of most Protestants in this section of the country may be thus stated: Almighty God

should protect us in our person, property, and comforts ; should prevent or punish severely murder, robbery, and theft. If He do so, He does his duty and we are willing to say thank you ; for the rest we don't want to have much to do with Him. If we go to church, it's out of custom, or for the women's sake. If we try to pray when we are in danger or dying, it's because we are scared. As for those a little more religious than common—they gain a certain social standing and influence by it ; it brings them business ; it wins them votes, sometimes it furnishes the theatre they want to display their peculiar talent or tact.

With us as yet they keep their old names, Presbyterians, Methodists, Unitarians, etc., and not many Unitarians professed out of Baltimore. Yet most of the men, in their freer moments, acknowledge that they belong to the big church, *i. e.* that all religions are alike, etc. There is a sprinkling of pure infidelity. Men [and women, who regard the Bible as a fiction, not noisy nor obtrusive, but decided.

They are all moving after you Yankees, non passibus æquis. New England leads—let her move in the right direction, we will certainly profit by her movement.

Commend me to your Bishop and my other friends, and believe me, most respectfully and truly your friend, etc.,

JOHN McCAFFREY.

Another letter from McCaffrey, some six months later, expresses some opinions, which, coming from one of his character and in his position, should carry weight and command attention. Brownson certainly attached

much importance to his friend's views of religious affairs.

Mt. St. MARY'S COLLEGE, July 6th, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I am sorry your very welcome letter didn't reach me a day sooner. It came to hand just after I had bid my godson farewell. I have, however, written to him according to your wish. He will write for you, if he can consistently with more pressing duties. I may communicate to you as a matter of confidence, that George contemplates the necessity of supporting, by his own labor, his father's large family. He is one of the very few youths that I have been able to train as I would desire to train all committed to my charge, and I would regret much if he should be compelled to desert the fields of literature for the hard drudgery of his profession. Such, it is to be feared, is his fate for some years to come.

I am anxiously looking for the July number of your Review. If I venture to criticise you, you know in what spirit I do it. I have found myself too often in the wrong, in criticism as in everything else, to be an idolater of my own opinions. Be sure that I will avail myself of your permission to find fault with you, when I can and ought, or think I ought.

As regards St. Vincent's Manual, and the obnoxious note, I doubt whether it will be in my power to have the note omitted. I called the attention of Murphy, the publisher and proprietor, to the numerous gallicisms and other such defects which disfigure the work, and promised him, at his urgent request, to note all such faults as I may wish to see corrected. Whether he will, at my request, expunge Mr. White's annotation, is exceedingly

doubtful. While you and I believe the note does *in effect* teach fatal heresy, many good men and learned divines see in it nothing but a statement theologically accurate and well adapted to remove an objection which operates to hinder some weak minds from submitting to the authority of the church. When Judas (whom our Lord knew to be a traitor) exclaimed, "Ut quid perditio haec? Potuit hoc venumdari multo et dari pauperibus;" Jesus was content with correcting him in words, reasoned with him, taught the truth in opposition to the false and immoral sentiment of the corrupt apostle, and still gave him every opportunity and full grace to retrace his steps and, if he only would, to sit upon a throne in heaven, one of the blessed twelve for all eternity.

On the last Sunday of our scholastic year, in conformity with custom, I addressed the students chiefly, and took for my subject *Obedience*. In illustrating the obstacles to the practice of this all important virtue, I remarked that "Now every traitor is a patriot—every rebel a hero." If Lucifer's revolt were to occur in our day, and we could be informed of the outbreak of the insurrection and progress of the war, the public sympathy would be with the rebellious archangel; the approving voice of our people would be in favor of the revolt, and against "the almighty power and tyranny of God." As a good symptom of the state of feeling among those who heard me, I must say that all concurred in the truth of my remark.

May I venture to tell you that your letter before me (not anything you have ever published since you became a Catholic) leads me to suspect that you are still somewhat influenced by the Puritanical, and also infidel

notions of perfectibility? Did not the Puritans in Europe, but especially in New England, aim to found the perfect kingdom of Christ on earth? Did they not hope to establish a church in which men enjoying the gift of inamissible grace, would be free from all sin, and serve God here, as the angels do in Heaven? Was not this their motive in instituting such a theocracy as they could? And is not this the justification of their harsh intolerance? I cannot enter into their feelings and motives. Perhaps you can, or rather could. Am I altogether wrong? It has for years past seemed clear to me that the oppression of the church by the state has been the chief cause of the evils of society, and was preparing the way for the scenes we now witness. Why did the French and Spaniards lose all their colonies in the west? Were they not at home and abroad so jealous of the influence of Rome as virtually to nullify the authority of St. Peter's successors? Were not court minions raised to all the high places in the church? Was not Canada, were not South America and Mexico thus surrendered to a corruption beginning with the clergy and spreading rottenness through all the people? As to education, I do not see that the Jesuits or any body of men could counteract the pernicious, all-pervading influence and active control of the infidel or semi-infidel governments of Europe during the past century. I throw out these notions as hints. Your reading and observation may enable you to decide where I am in doubt. I know how far you are from sympathizing with any of the vile crew that have continually assailed the Jesuits. You have defended nobly the noble sons of St. Ignatius, and no man has given harder

knocks to the false theory of progress and perfectibility. But we are all of us at times, when things go wrong, strongly tempted to blame what is least blamable, and knowing what Catholics ought to be and ought to do, and what divine grace offered them most abundantly would lead them to be and to do, we are amazed and scandalized at the inefficiency and worthlessness of vast numbers of them.

Engaged in the task of educating American boys, I find that very few indeed have been taught by their parents to obey and sacrifice self-will to duty. Parents generally tell me that their boys are honourable and will not lie. I find that about one in a hundred never lies. I find that in three cases out of four, the children rule the parents, and ultimately study what they please, leave school when they please, and at home do what they please. Boys, I find, have two distinct and often contradictory—consciences. I use the word for want of a better. A lad resists his teacher, and defies authority—he is sure of the sympathy and applause of the majority of his companions. He most solemnly asseverates before me—before his parents, that he has done nothing but what he believes it to be right to do. I know that, if he goes to confession the next hour, he will accuse himself of this same act of disobedience, make acts of contrition for it, and resolve never to repeat it, and that without any other promptings than those of his true, Catholic conscience.

In all the evils, then, which prevail everywhere in society—in all the contradictions which shock us in the behavior of Christians, I behold but two causes at work, nature and grace.

Any institution, in which a large number of young persons are crowded together, will become a sink of iniquity, a perfect hot-bed of vice for most of them, unless they be watched over with incessant care, unless authority be inflexibly maintained, and unless religion restrain and guide the young minds and hearts. None but priests or nuns will or can well discharge all the duties of Catholic preceptors. Secular priests are with difficulty brought and held together for the purpose of carrying on educational institutions. Monastic societies alone can supply the want. Mt. St. Mary's is the only institution which now remains under the control of secular priests. I see clearly the advantages which the religious orders have over us, and look upon it as a special providence that has sustained our institution amid all difficulties. Many persons are now disposed to blame the Jesuits as having failed totally in forming the minds of European youth to Catholic principles and conduct. I blame the world, the flesh, and the devil. I argued my side of the case against a brace of bishops at a social meeting in Baltimore during the National Council. I did not know whether I convinced them; they certainly did not convince me.

I suspect the children of this world will always be found wiser in their generation than the children of light, and I bear in mind the awful question of our Saviour, "When the son of man comes, think you, will he find faith on earth?"

As a body, our Catholic population in this country can easily be made to think aright on the great questions in temporal affairs to which their religious principles directly apply. I am sure that nobody in our

congregation (in spite of the newspapers) has an erroneous opinion respecting the character of the Roman Republic and its triumvirate. Bishop Hughes seems to be directing admirably the Catholic mind in New York on this and kindred questions. We want, besides your Review, such periodicals as the Freeman's Journal. We undoubtedly also want such a Catholic literature as you describe and make us long for. But with a few more periodicals such as yours and McMaster's, we can get along for the present with our adult Catholic population. Unfortunately, we have few books for the young and must let them form their minds in great part on such writings as would please a heathen no less than a Catholic.

I have no confidence in my powers as a writer, otherwise I certainly would have contrived to furnish you with something before this. Most probably I want industry more than anything else. I mean to try. Whatever I may offer you, it will be for you to do with as you think proper.

We are now honored with a visit from the saintly and pleasant Bishop of Buffalo. I should rather say the Sisters are, for he is preaching their retreat and stays chiefly with them. I shall talk over some questions with him, and arouse myself to write a review if I can—a thing I never did before. I wish you all possible success, and never lose an opportunity of getting you a new subscriber, not more, however, for your sake than for the benefit of those to whom I commend your Review.

I am, with sincere respect, truly your friend,
JOHN McCAFFREY.

In the first half of the same year (1849) was published Kenrick's revised translation of "The Four Gospels," which was followed at intervals by the rest of the Bible. On this occasion he wrote:

DEAR SIR:—The substance of your letter which reached the city in my absence, has been communicated to me by a friend whom I had authorized to open letters addressed to me. I regret exceedingly the limited circulation of your valuable Review, and shall feel happy in favoring it to the utmost of my power. Several clergymen, whom I spoke to on the subject, have promised me to subscribe. Mr. Major resisted all my efforts to urge its claims for patronage through the columns of the Herald, offering, however, to make peace if the Review were sent to the office.

Reverend Mr. Bailey, of the diocese of New York, is, I understand, familiar with Bibliography, and with the varieties of the English versions. I should not, however, wish any one to review my book under any restrictions or influence, which might interfere with fair criticism. Puffing or flattery is not my object. There are many things to be corrected in the work, some of them mere errors of the press, such as "speak of you," instead of "to," in a passage of St. John, printed after I had gone to Baltimore; others my own, arising from a want of fixed views, or inadvertence. Uniformity in the use of "ye" in the nominative case, neglected in St. Matthew: in the rendering of "generatio" where it signifies age or race; and "tabernacula" sometimes rendered "huts," after Dr. Lingard, and once "tabernacles." In the use of "shall" or "will," I have followed him, although he departs widely from the old

translators. Professor Allen discovers an Hibernicism in a note "useless trees" used for fire-wood. On the whole I have reason to desire not to be reviewed, but the work is fair game for the literary sportsmen. I deprecate any collusion. My only wish is to prepare for an improved version to be adopted after due deliberation, by my colleagues.

Mr. Sanderson, of the Towanda bar, formerly a Universalist preacher, cherishes the memory of your acquaintance with great warmth. He called on me during my visit there.

With sentiments of high esteem and cordial attachment, I remain, dear sir, your constant friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

Choconut, July 7, 1849.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Early in the year 1849, Brownson was expected to lecture as usual in New York, and the lecture was given February 14th. McMaster wrote:

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I am very late in giving notice of the time we hope to have you here to lecture. If you can lecture on Thursday, the first of February, and I suppose one day is to you as good as another, we will be ready for you. We will go on on the supposition that you will come and lecture on that evening. How well the lecture will succeed I cannot promise. There are so many excitements now on foot here, and so little life for anything good, that it will be difficult to get up the requisite interest. We will do what we can.

As I happen to have received eight dollars for your Review, I send it to you. Will you please, when you come on, to bring the *four numbers of 1848*, as one whose subscription I have received has the Review for 1847, and wants last year to make up. Please remember this.

I send along with this a note for the *Catholic Observer*. It incloses two dollars from an acquaintance of mine for the *Catholic Observer*. Please give it to Mr. O'Brien.

Believe me, most sincerely, and with respect, your humble friend and servant,

JAS. ALPH. McMASTER.

NEW YORK, Jan. 20th, 1849.

Please answer as soon as possible.

McMaster's letter was not received till the 24th, and the same day came a telegram from Cummings fixing a different date, as appears from Brownson's letter to Cummings.

BOSTON, Jan. 25, 1849.

REV. DR. CUMMINGS.

DEAR SIR:—I received yesterday a note from Mr. McMaster telling me that the arrangement was made for me to lecture on Thursday, the first of February. Shortly after I received a telegraphic dispatch from yourself that the tabernacle was engaged for me on either the twelfth or the thirteenth of the month. I hardly know how to consider the two statements. But as yours was dated subsequently to his, I suppose that the arrangement he announced is postponed. I can come—or go—on to New York on one of the days just

as well as the other, and therefore the 1st, 12th, or 13th is to me a matter of perfect indifference, and I leave it to you to make the arrangements precisely as you find it most convenient. My subject will be *Religious Liberty*. My own impression is that Friday, the 12th,* may be the most convenient. But fix on the day yourself, only let me know in season to get to your city in time. If you will just mention this to my friend Mac — you will oblige me, and this will be a reply to his note, for I shall not come—or go—for the 1st, unless I hear from you again. If his arrangement remains good, a telegraphic dispatch on Tuesday will be in season.

Will you be so obliging as to make my humble respects to your bishop, whom I am growing to love and reverence every day more and more?

I hope your health is good, spirits also, and that you have not turned your back upon my humble Review. One good turn always deserves another. You have done me several good turns in writing for me, and *therefore* are bound to do me several more. Do not think of disputing my logic, which is based on the practical, if not on the speculative reason.

Yours with great respect,

O. A. BROWNSON.

Cummings's answer was this:

BISHOP'S HOUSE, January 29th, 1849.

DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—Owing to your delay in answering my telegraphic dispatch I have not been able to retain the Tabernacle for the days mentioned.

* Friday, by the calendar, must have been the 16th; but the letter is given as written. It looks very much as though the writer, in referring to the calendar had, in his near-sightedness, looked at January instead of February. The 12th of January that year was a Friday.

This is of little consequence, however, for it is now finally engaged for February 14th. Please then to be in New York in time to lecture on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of February. There has been no other move made in this matter by Mr. McMaster or anybody else, and the mention you make of some previous arrangement is altogether a mistake. Several had spoken of the propriety of arranging it for you, and I was hoping it would be attended to ere this, and this is the cause of its being delayed until now. You may have heard that I am engaged in building a church, an occupation which keeps me very busy. This is the reason why I desired some other person should take the lecture in hand. This also is the reason why I do not hope I shall be able to contribute for some time to the Review. Far from turning my back on the Review or its glorious old editor, I promise you I will continue to do my best to procure friends for the one and subscribers for the other. I consider I have a right to dislike here and there some of the little accompaniments of the principles you enunciate, but I take this occasion to say that as a *Roman* Catholic, I defy any theologian in the United States or any other states, to lay his finger on any statement (in the numbers of the Review which I have seen) written by your pen since you mended it with the Catholic pen-knife, which he can prove to be *unsound* in doctrine, or *unedifying* in its tendency. I think that I have written rather too much during the last two years, and I desire to keep out of print for some time if I can, but so far from being opposed to the Review or its course, when my new parish is organized, I would without the slightest difficulty recommend it

from the pulpit. I hope this is being explicit enough to persuade you that I am not likely to be influenced unfavorably towards you or the Review, although there are some of its *unessentials* that I don't care about swallowing. I hope it will go ahead more and more every day. There are many questions yet which it can deliberately take up and which will lend it variety without changing its tone.

There is a lecture of mine in the last Freeman's Journal which please read and endorse. I am glad to see that my volatile friend, McMaster, works well with you. He is a boy yet, and is alternately an emphasizer and a shuffler, as I have often told himself. But he has good stuff in him and will, I hope, live to be a great man, or at least what in this bad age is perhaps more, an honest man, which last he has commenced to be boldly enough already.

Wishing you every blessing, I have the honor to be, my dear sir, yours sincerely,

J. W. CUMMINGS,

St. Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y.

Do not forget Wednesday, February 14th.

The letter which follows, from the same writer, tends to show that the Editor and Lecturer was a little negligent in matters of business.

NEW YORK, June 8th, 1849.

DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I deferred writing to you, as I had intended, in the expectation of seeing you in New York. Perhaps after the publication of your next number you will be able to spend a few days with us.

You must excuse me for not having contributed to the forthcoming number, according to your request and that of my friends in Boston. I have been kept so busy with my little church, that it would have been impossible for me to prepare an article worthy of a place in the Review. However, in spite of what the aversion of flesh and blood to close labor may suggest, I will be honest where I ought to be generous, and record against myself the promise to give you an article for the next quarter. Nothing but sickness shall prevent me from keeping my word.

During my trip to Washington I did all I could for the Review. In that city it is most wofully unattended to. I am sure that a good agent would find many subscribers for you, as almost every one I spoke to on the subject manifested the most friendly disposition towards yourself and your efforts. Rev. Mr. James Donelan promised me that were a good agent provided for it, he would do all in his power to assist him. He added that he had allowed his own name to fall from the list of subscribers merely on account of the provoking irregularity with which the Review was served. He admired your writings very much, and even though not a subscriber manages to read each number as it comes out. He will subscribe for it immediately if he can be sure that it will be served punctually. I would advise you to write him a note on the subject of the Review's temporal interests. I am more and more convinced that your Review does not receive half the support it would receive had it a proper corps of agents.

I must recall to your mind the kind promise made when you were in New York, that you would let me

have the volumes I want to complete my set. I have 1844-'47-'48 and '49. Could '45 and '46 be had for love or money?

I think the Review stands as well now as it has done for any time past. During the last year or so there has been nothing exciting or extra-orbital in its career, no fearful insinuation that Protestants have not as good a chance to go to heaven as anybody else, or that the church is able to get along without a committee of Repealers, Democrats and Jacobins to keep her straight. At least, if there have been in the Review any such hazardous and novel propositions, either people begin to suspect there may be some truth in them, or that they are not to be met with open war. Besides this, the bishops and clergy become every day more ready to aid the Review, and feel increasing confidence in yourself. I hope you will not let your courage fail on account of the little difficulties which may obstruct your path. The surest sign that God had given you up or forgotten you would be the fact of your having every thing your own way. If my church were to be built without some hard scrapes every three or four weeks, I should be terribly afraid that it was unblest. A little salt in your grog every now and then will do all the more to preserve you from corruption.

Father Macdonough is wrathful against you on account of your neglect to acknowledge the receipt of what money he sent you. When I see you I mean to scold you in a friendly manner for having left me uneasy in like manner as to the receipt of my inclosure to you.

The projected mammoth organ of Catholicity in this

city, concerning which overtures were made to you, has died away in smoke long since. I could wish mention had never been made of it. Mr. Reilly* is trying harder and harder every day to change the concluding letter "n" of his surname into an "l." He is succeeding so well that I begin to think he was Devin only by a misprint beforehand. The *People* and the *Nation*, however, both do good, inasmuch as one (to use a new phrase current in this city) Sullivanizes the other. Your former friends of the Associationist clique seem to be growing every day more puny, more vile, more moonstruck, more God-forsaken, and devil-possessed than before. What *can* be the mysterious dream—the spent electricity—the drunken impotency—the infantine blasphemy that ties these seemingly honest, but unscrupulously malicious men up in a hard coil of Satan's caudicular appendage? The more I study them the less I can make of them, and the more I find they deserve to be hated, the more I am inclined to pity them.

Excuse this lengthy and nonsensical epistle, and believe me your friend and servant,

J. W. CUMMINGS,
St. Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y.

Brownson's reply to Cummings is here given :

BOSTON, June 23, 1849.

REV. J. CUMMINGS, D. D.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I owe you a thousand apologies for not having acknowledged your remittance in season, which came safe to hand, the exact amount of

* Devin O'Reilly.

which I do not now recollect, but it was more than I expected. About that time I had severe domestic affliction,* and when that was over, I no longer remembered anything about it. The Rev. Father McDonough sent me \$150, for which I thank him, but to my shame I have not acknowledged. I shall do it, Deo volente, Monday, for I am devoting two or three weeks to letter-writing. I beg you, however, to intercede with him for my forgiveness. All my excuse in his case is the same as in yours,—and therefore good for nothing. I confess my fault, and make all necessary promises of future amendment. But the simple truth is, I can more easily write an essay than set about writing a letter.

For your kind letter I thank you. I am embarrassed, but not precisely discouraged or low-spirited. The fact is, I lose over five hundred dollars on account of the Catholic Observer, and about three hundred by the failure of one of my agents. This loss embarrasses me and renders it impossible for me to get on without some two or three hundred dollars assistance, besides the one hundred Bishop Fitzpatrick will advance me by the first of July. If I take this money from the Review, I cannot meet my notes on its account; and if I do not, I have nothing but my credit on which to support my family, which I have already pushed as far as I can, in a good conscience. I have no fears but the Review and what I can get by lecturing and so forth will give me an ample support after next October. My difficulties are, so far as I can see, confined to the next three or four months, chiefly to the month of July. If I had

* His fifth son, George, died on Holy Thursday, 1849, of scarlet fever, in the ninth year of his age.

been treated as I should have been, in the case of the Observer, I could have got along without trouble, but the gentleman mostly concerned is utterly unable to keep his promise. There is the sole embarrassment I feel.

As to the standing of the Review, I think what you say is correct. It has been somewhat neglected, but the neglect can be repaired by the beginning of another volume, and even with its present list of subscribers, it would support me, since after this year my prospects are that for six or seven years to come my expenses will not be so much into seven or eight hundred dollars a year as they have been for the last five years. You can readily understand then that my apprehensions are chiefly for the next few weeks, and which, stopping the Review would not in any degree relieve.

I state the matter to you thus frankly, because you are entitled to my full confidence. What I really want is the assistance of some two or three hundred dollars in the month of July next, for which I must trust to Providence and my friends. If I get that, as I trust I shall, there appears an open sea and plain sailing before me.

I thank you for your promised article, and shall rely on it. The July number is all from my own pen. I am inclined to hope and to think that you will like the number. It is pretty free, perhaps bold, and even *liberal*, in your sense. I am true to the principles of the Review, but I have presented some topics under more popular aspects than usual, and probably will

appear more secular and less monastic in my tone. There is slight trace of the Dr., Gioberti, and a strong one of O. A. Brownson himself, when writing from himself rather than according to order. "The Great Question," and the Middle Ages are discussed,* and I think in a sense you will accept, with as much frankness and boldness as the times will admit. Indeed, I expect the number to *take*. When it comes out favor me with your criticisms, and you need not fear wounding my sensibility; for, though I am as thin-skinned as a flayed eel, and should be as mad as a March hare for two seconds and a half, if you should be savage upon me, you would have nothing to apprehend for any longer period. Moreover, the matter concerns more than myself. I wish, very quietly, to make the Review *Roman* Catholic, and must rely on the *Romans* for instruction. The Review is a sort of joint-stock concern, you know, and its purpose is to get as far as possible the whole policy here on the *Roman* track; not, however, on that of the Roman Republic, for which our friend the Doctor has a little too much affection. No war is to be made on the Jesuits, but the Review must not be Jesuitical, and it must be the organ of the Seculars rather than of the Regulars. The thought I adopt is to baptize the secular, and to promote Catholic secular culture, so tell me what you think on this point. How far I am right, and take the right view, and wherein I err.

Forgive me this long and rambling letter, and

* "Civil and Religious Toleration," Works, vol. x., p. 207, and "The Church in the Dark Ages," p. 239.

believe me, your much obliged and sincere friend and very humble servant,

O. A. BROWNSON.*

The lecture on Law which Cummings requested Brownson to notice, was taken note of in the Review at considerable length and with great commendation. It was published in pamphlet form, but with most perverting errors; the Freeman's Journal reported it better. Considering the times when the lecture was given, it was most opportune, though there are no times when the truths therein set forth do not require emphatic teaching. He raised no question as to forms or constitutions of government; but brought out the ethical aspect of law itself as common to them all. He showed that human law to be obligatory must be a transcript of the law of God, for it derives its obligation only from the will of God, as expressed in the natural or the revealed law. Consequently, he concluded that law is *ethical*, and cannot be resisted without sin, and therefore, that the "mobocratic" spirit, the spirit of revolution, which denies the sacredness of law, cannot be encouraged by a Catholic, nor, indeed, by one who would possess even natural morality. But at the same time that his doctrine binds us to obey the law, it binds the lawmakers to enact nothing not in strict conformity to the law of God. It then protects liberty on the one hand and authority on the other. This is the true Catholic

* There is in the latter part of this letter what its writer calls "a slight trace of the Dr. (Cummings) and Gioberti." The thought is perceptible in the articles to which he alludes, and in the sense of Cummings and Gioberti, the baptizing of the secular, and the promotion of Catholic secular culture, smack of the liberal view of civilization, from which he quickly withdrew and kept aloof until some ten years later, when he accepted it, as will be shown when we come to that period.

doctrine on the subject, and had been distinctly set forth in the article, "Authority and Liberty," in the Review for April of the same year;* but to have it eloquently defended by a young, learned, and popular priest, who put religion above politics, went far to rebuke the Catholic and other editors who were carried away by the rebellious spirit of that era of revolution, and of whom some were said, in reciting the Lord's prayer, to say, "Thy republic come."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CATHOLIC OBSERVER.—THE AMERICAN REVIEW.—

SOCIALISM.—W. H. CHANNING.—GREENE.—METAPHYSICS.—THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.—MONTREAL AND QUEBEC.—PHILADELPHIA.

REFERENCE to the Catholic Observer, of Boston, has been made by one or two writers of letters contained in the previous chapter, which might lead one to suppose that Brownson was the editor of that journal. But such was not the fact.

When he became a Catholic, there being no church in Chelsea, the most convenient church for him to attend was either the church under charge of Rev. George F. Haskins, in Boston, only a few minutes' walk from the ferry, and where he went most frequently, or another in East Boston, a couple of miles off, to which a road led over a bridge. It was at the latter church that his wife and the youngest four of his children were baptized by the pastor, Rev. Nicholas O'Brien. This was a

* Works, vol. x., p. III.

priest of rare acquirements, who had been a fellow-student of Bishop Fitzpatrick in the seminary before they were ordained priests. Considerable intimacy had grown up between O'Brien and Brownson, and this intimacy became closer after O'Brien, about the end of the year 1847, was transferred from East Boston to the Cathedral. O'Brien was eager to be the editor of a Catholic journal, obtained the Bishop's consent, and promise of assistance from several priests in Boston, and was only hindered from starting his paper by the want of both money and credit. At O'Brien's solicitation, Brownson consented to aid O'Brien, not with money, which he did not possess, but with credit, which he did have. Brownson accordingly made a contract with the firm of Andrews & Prentiss to issue the paper at low rates, to be paid weekly, O'Brien being editor and manager. The name of the paper was "The Catholic Observer." It was published every week, and soon gained a fair circulation. Brownson contributed to it regularly, or at least frequently, and was regarded by many, who were aware of his responsibility in connection with it, as the real conductor. O'Brien soon proved himself utterly unfit for his position as manager and as editor. He neglected to pay the expenses of the publication regularly, and Andrews & Prentiss were often obliged to call on Brownson for money months in arrears. As editor, he did such poor work, not so much from incompetency as from inapplication, that the failure of the paper was sure to follow. In fact, McMaster, in a letter dated May 2d, 1849, wrote to Brownson : "How does the Observer come on? I am afraid it will accumulate debts, and I do not think it is now in the

way of succeeding. There is not sufficient care in the editorial department." The Catholic Observer soon after expired, involving Brownson in considerable pecuniary loss.*

This same year, 1849, Brownson was invited to contribute to the American Review. While visiting New York, about the middle of February, for his lecture in the Tabernacle, he met the editor at McMaster's. In one of McMaster's letters it will be remembered that he mentions his writing for this, the principal Whig Review in the United States. A fortnight, or so later, Brownson received a letter from the editor of that Review, which led to his writing for it.

NEW YORK, March 5th, 1849.

MR. BROWNSON:

DEAR SIR:—I regretted much that it was impossible for me to enjoy another conversation with you, after the agreeable meeting at McMaster's. To renew conversation at some future day on the topics which then interested us will be highly agreeable to myself at least. The conversation of a thinker is not so common a luxury to me but that every interview of the kind marks the day and circumstances in that record of happy events which a man carries in the treasure of his memory.

The occasion of my writing at this time is to open a correspondence with you in regard to the Journal of which I have the political conduct. I have every reason to think that your sentiments and opinions on subjects

* O'Brien by degrees "went to the bad," but finally through the noble effort of Rev. Sylvester Malone, of Williamsburg, N. Y., was rescued from degradation, reconciled to the authorities in the church and permitted to pass the remainder of his life in penance and seclusion.

strictly national and constitutional will find a ready echo in the hearts and understandings of many of my readers. If, therefore, it would be agreeable to you, for the compensation of \$50, to furnish an article on the veto power, its value and importance, a conservative and philosophical article, I shall be glad to publish it anonymously.

I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

JAMES D. WHELPLEY,

Editor American Review.

If the proposition is agreeable, please let me have the article for May—to be ready April 15th—twelve pages of the American Review.

To this, Brownson at first made no reply directly to Whelpley; but sent a message through McMaster, to whom he had occasion to write. McMaster wrote back:

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I was very glad to get your letter, but very sorry that you should feel it necessary to write to contradict a story that gave me no uneasiness whatever. I never thought of tracing the story to you. I knew, however, that it was quite possible it might have sprung from the Bishop. Whether it did or not I have no means of knowing. He spoke to me about the rumor, but I cut it short by saying I knew nothing about it, and did not care to trace it. I knew while you were here, and even before it, that there was something brewing, and of course supposed it would be something “grand” and impracticable.

I am fully convinced of the propriety of the course you recommend for our journalism, and I purpose striving to reduce it to practice. I am much indebted to you

for your article in the Observer; it was very kind, and I feel in no ways offended with it.

The matter of education which you introduce in your letter, is one that I doubt if we would agree upon. My firm opinion is that any possible form of education in mixed schools must produce and perpetuate the continual apostasy of the great body of Catholic youth. I would rather keep them in the worst Irish schools, or out of school altogether. The civilization of this country is greater than that of Ireland, but it is a heathen civilization; and I do not believe that the Apostles would ever have told the faithful of their days to send their children to pagan schools—no matter how much more civilized they might have been than the Christians.

I rejoice that you are again on terms with Dr. Manahan. If we are to do anything in these times, it must be by making abnegation of many personal feelings, and overlooking everything not essential to the success of truth, in the views or characters of those we have to deal with. The crucifixion of our natural sentiments and affections is the thing requisite. For my part, I do not find the principle abstruse to the intellect—I find it simply hard to practise in detail.

The lecture that I delivered in Boston was so entirely unfinished a thing that I could not think of its occupying a place in your Review as it stands, and I fear it would be impossible for me to finish and correct it so as to make it fit; moreover, it is altogether too rhetorical for an essay. It would absolutely have to be re-written and re-arranged to make it pass as a review article, and I have my whole time pre-engaged for six months to come. When you want that subject treated

of you are perfectly possessed of the materials, and in a few hours could prepare an article very much better than I can do. I feel, in fact, that it is only out of regard for me personally that you ask it, and to one of my temper the courtesy is in no wise necessary.

I yesterday met Whelpley on the street and delivered your message. His reply was that he had in his letter requested a direct answer to the points he mentioned in it, and that he would like to have this from you: That you would no doubt write to him soon and then he would make further agreements.

Believe me, with sincerity, your humble friend and servant,

JAS. A. McMASTER.

NEW YORK, March 18th, 1849.

Brownson accordingly sent an answer to Whelpley's proposal. He said he could only write as a Catholic, and according to the principles of his faith which he applied to political as well as to the rest of moral science. He therefore made some objections to the proposal, which are sufficiently obvious from Whelpley's reply.

NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN REVIEW, }
April 16th, 1849. }

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just opened yours in answer to mine of some weeks since. Mr. McMaster delivered your message to me, but as the political writing for the Review was supplied for the month, and for that following, I preferred to wait your more explicit answer.

I believe the conservative Whigs of the new school ✓ will have no quarrel with your politics. I, at least, have none—and there would, of course, be no Catholicism (or what Protestants call Romanism) in a purely political article—at least such is to be predicted in the case of a man who has had your experience and has seen the world from so many points of view. If men can be taught to venerate the established law and constitution, that is at least one step forward toward the end you seek.

Your proposition, to send such matter as you please, is very agreeable, with the reservation added that it be used only if it seems well adapted to the Review. If not, it will be returned without delay. Not intending to bias your choice, I will, however, say that the "Veto Power" lacks a defender, and that the "Limits of the Executive Power," are not yet established in any philosophical manner, for this government.

Wishing you the prosperity that good men seek, and the consolation given to the just, I am, sir, with the truest respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES D. WHELPLEY.

P. S.—I am at a loss what title to use in directing to you. I have, therefore, sent this to your name alone, which many think needs no addition.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.,

Editor of Brownson's Review, Boston, Mass.

An article on "The Presidential Veto" was prepared, and sent to the editor of the American Review, whose acknowledgment of its reception was as follows:

OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN REVIEW, }
June 27th, 1849. }

MR. BROWNSON:

DEAR SIR:—I have delayed answering yours, until I could carefully study and understand the article you sent, in company with some trusty brains, quick to catch faults and appreciate excellencies.

We agree with you mainly, but find fault with some few sentences, that bear too hard, and too roughly upon "the people." I propose to you, therefore, to allow me to draw the pen through a few lines, and expressions; not to castrate, but only to temper your article. I should not *dare*, coward that I am, to publish it as it stands.

Awaiting your permission to do this, or your orders to have it returned, I am, sir, very respectfully and sincerely yours,

JAMES D. WHELPLEY.

I believe sir, you are right in defining your own position, Conservative Whig with a dash of Federalism. I am myself Conservative Whig with a dash of Democracy. Perhaps I shall grow wiser with advancing years.

Please let me know whether you are well acquainted with Mr. Webster, and could easily say something to him for me. My acquaintance with him is but slight.

Brownson's article on the veto was published in the American Review of August, 1849; but the number containing it was not received by him till long after. When he saw how it had been mutilated, he made his displeasure known to Whelpley, who answered:

NEW YORK, Oct. 30th, 1849.

MR. BROWNSON.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of Oct. 22d is before me.

I have first to thank you for speaking to Mr. Webster. He has since written to me, and the object for which I wished to have your personal application seems to have been gained. I mean to say his attention is aroused. I was at a loss whom to apply to for such a service, and could not go to B. myself.

I cut out the bitter parts of your article. Perhaps you remember a certain Democratic Review that was, and the ire excited in certain quarters by certain articles of yours. Great as I esteem the power of your mind (and who does not that knows it?) I could not let you write for me without the very privilege which you demur to, that of cutting out the bitter parts. You would have put a colocynth apple into the mouths of the Whigs.

Perhaps you will ask: "Why then did you not let me know sooner?" To that I answer, that I did not perceive (through my natural slowness) the whole force of the thing, until I had the article nearly ready for the press. The parts preceding those rejected were suitable—excellent—convincing—those that followed I had read but hastily, and in the intervals of a hot and somewhat irrelevant discussion with two gentlemen who controverted your positions. On a cooler view of the matter, my better judgment, or what seemed a better judgment, made me do the thing which displeases you.

I have to regret the errors in the article, but you are certainly mistaken in supposing that they destroy the sense of the article to any great extent. Your MS.

was found to be very difficult to read. I was seriously ill at the time of its publication and was obliged to trust the reading to another. I barely escaped with life and an injured constitution from an attack of cholera, or what is called by that name.

A combination of unlucky circumstances have rendered this passage between us somewhat unpleasant; and yet, were you here, I should seek your society and conversation with the same confidence and good feeling as at first.

I believe that you are right in saying that a political editor should be an autocrat—he is either that, or he is a tool. That the decrees of an autocrat should be always just is impossible, unless he be a god. My own place as the ostensible organ of a party, has involved me in so many contests (in which I have not always come off with a clear conscience), I am in a manner case-hardened,—but by no means in the condition of Editor John Smith, who declared that he had been so long the representative of others, he had no opinions left that he could call his own. My position, though a partisan one, is indeed purely independent,—but there is a saying, “Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves.” I believe that it is sometimes as necessary to the success of a good cause to be silent as it is to speak the truth.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

JAMES D. WHELPLEY.

P. S.—The Review has been sent regularly to you through an agent who it seems has neglected his duty. It will be sent, until a better agent can be got, to your name, simply through the P. O.

In his Review for April, 1850, Brownson inserted the veto article with this notice prefixed to it.

"This article was originally prepared for the *American Review*, at the request of the talented and accomplished editor of that highly respectable journal, and in great part appeared in its number for August last. But as the editor omitted certain portions, and as his printers greatly disfigured, by serious typographical errors, the portions accepted, the writer of the article wishes us to insert it as it was originally prepared; which we do without any hesitation, for its views are our own.—[ED. *B. Q. Review.*]"

In 1848 and 1849, Brownson devoted much attention to a matter then of increasing, and to-day of almost absorbing interest;—perhaps more properly called two questions, though so closely allied as to be nearly identical,—the question of labor organization and association,* and socialism.† His views in this regard have been sufficiently set forth in his "Early Life," and the conclusions at which he arrived after long and painful struggle. The only remedy for the uneasiness, the suffering, the longing of modern society must be found in religion, and it is idle to expect it from associations, from legislative enactments, or from the abolition of governments and of laws. The religion, too, which provides a remedy, is not the manufactured article paraded by voluntary conventions of men of more or less agreement in opinion; but the religion embodied in a church with real and infallible truth, with real, life-giving sacraments, the body of Christ, the abiding-place of the Holy Spirit. .

* Works, vol. x., p. 38.

† *Ib.* pp. 79, 137, 169.

Two of the articles on socialism were a criticism of a discourse before the Associationists delivered by the Reviewer's former brother in the Unitarian ministry, the Reverend Dr. W. H. Channing. Of Channing personally, Brownson wrote: "There are few men outside the church for whom we have a warmer personal affection, or a more sincere esteem, than we have for the author of this discourse, a nephew of the well known and lamented William Ellery Channing, the warm-hearted philanthropist and eloquent Unitarian minister. He is a man of singular purity of mind and sweetness of disposition—earnest, self-denying, brave—with more than his celebrated uncle's learning, and occasionally with more than that uncle's eloquence. We have known him for years, and, before our conversion, we loved him as we loved few men, and hoped more from him, with a single exception, than from any other man with whom we were associated, or whom we were permitted to include in the number of our personal friends. We love him not less now, though our personal intercourse with him has been nearly interrupted, and we have ceased to have any sympathy with his views, plans, or movements."* It is plain from the passage quoted above, and from many others here and there when reviewing the writings of his former associates, that when Brownson separated himself from the Unitarian ministry to seek a home with those who had been strangers, though he did not choose to expose to the world the sacrifice he made for the sake of truth, yet it was not without anguish of heart that he saw the ties severing which had united him so closely with the most

* Works, vol. x., p. 137.

intelligent men and women of New England. Their language, thoughts, and patriotic aims were similar; or if at times there were differences of literary, political, or religious opinions, each was willing to allow the rest the same freedom he claimed for himself, and was incapable of wilfully misunderstanding and misrepresenting another. Brownson was, moreover, a thorough-going American, not blind to the faults of his countrymen, but hopefully striving with all his might for the accomplishment of the great mission which he believed the United States had been given in the cause of the elevation of mankind. All these things he counted loss for Christ.*

Another Unitarian minister, the son of an old friend, one in whom Brownson had taken a great interest, had his reasonings and speculations submitted to a severe, but not unfriendly criticism, at about the same time as Channing. This was William B. Greene, whose name, however, did not appear as the author of the book to which he refers in the following letter:

BROOKFIELD, MASS., Jan. 24th, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—I send you herewith a copy of my “Remarks on Science of History, etc.” I requested Mr. Crosby† to send you a bound copy, and I know not whether he has done it; but if you see fit to *cut up* the book, I had rather you would expend your destructive energies on these loose sheets. We are all well here, my wife and two children seem to find the country air agree with them. I like Brookfield very much. By the

* Philipp, iii., 7.

† Crosby & Nichols, of Boston, were the publishers.

way, I notice in your last number, page 95,* the words: "There is an invincible logic in society which pushes it to the realization of the last consequences of its principles." Now, how do you reconcile that sentence with the general tenor of your remarks against the logical character of history with which you favored me some time since, in father's office? Again, you charge the Socialists with endeavoring to reproduce in what should be Christian ages, the heathen religions and morality: it "may or may not" (as you say), be the result of my stupidity, but I really cannot see how the religion and morality you maintain in the article in question, differs from the religion and morality which were known among the heathen, before our Lord came. The doctrine of the authority, supremacy, and infallibility of the church was certainly acknowledged among the ancient corporations of priests; and the theory of liberty and that of the nature of evil, which you set forth on the 113th and the three or four following pages,† seems to me to be identical "in the last analysis" with the views maintained by the stoics—good doctrine, as Leroux says, for a slave, but inapplicable at the present time when there is more freedom among men than there was in former ages. But my criticism may very possibly come from my want of comprehension. As Webster says of Ingersoll: "He has not, as we would say, a screw loose, but is loose all over;" so I am afraid you would say of me that I am not a mere heretic, but heretical all over—for my conscience suggested to me, when I was reading your description of socialism as the ne plus ultra of

* Works, vol. x., p. 83.

† Works, vol. x, pp. 97 *et seq.*

heresy, that I belonged to the most abandoned wing of the socialist faction. In fact, I am a regular thorough-going heretic, for I accept all the doctrines of the church —*as I explain them*.

Excuse me for writing as I do, but you and I have had so many plain talks in times past, that I cannot speak with you without endeavoring to come to the point. I confess I regret that there is so wide a gulph between us, for there is no one with whom I desire more to labor side by side than with you. We were together once, much to my profit, and I freely confess that I owe more to you, philosophically and theologically, than I do to any other five men living; and I never shall cease to hope that we may come together again. But this letter is too long already. Please give my best respects to your wife and children, with my especial love to Elizabeth,* who I think has not forgotten me, and accept my best wishes for your health, strength, and prosperity, according to body, soul, and spirit.

As always, very truly your friend,

W. B. GREENE.

Greene's book was the first metaphysical work that Brownson reviewed after his conversion. Since his refutation of Kant in 1844, he had had very little to say about metaphysics, except so far as applied to theological matters in his Review; but he had been studying in his mind and revising his philosophical system. Under the influence of Pierre Leroux's writings for two or three years before he became a Catholic, he had been the first to introduce that philosopher to the American

* Miss Peabody.

public. He was indebted to Leroux for much that was sound and for much that was not sound in his philosophy. It was Leroux that led him to substitute the ontological for the psychological method of philosophizing; and he now found that the former method leads to pantheism, just as the latter leads to egoism or atheism. Each is sophistical; for each starts from a single term of the ideal judgment, and from a single term nothing else can be deduced. Logic is impossible without two terms and their nexus: Omnipotence itself would have no creative power, but would forever remain unproductive unity, unless the principle of multiplicity—first and final cause and the medium of both—the principle, the end, and the mediator—were necessary relations in the very Godhead, of whom, through whom, and unto whom are all things.*

As almost always happens with those who come to learn the defect of either psychologism or ontologism, that they rush from one extreme to the other, Brownson from 1842 to 1844 should be classed as an ontologist. During the next four years, re-examining his principles, he came to the conclusion that either the psychological principle or the ontological, exclusively taken, is destructive of philosophy which must rest equally on both in their logical, that is, their real relation. He therefore asserts: Being,—real and necessary being, not the abstract being of Rosmini and the ontologists,—creates all that exists. In the review of Greene's

* Rom. xi. 36—I am well aware that the Vulgate reads, *ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipsum*, not *in ipsum*; but the Greek has *εἰς αὐτὸν*, as have the Greek fathers, and King James's translators, and as it is hardly to be doubted, St. Paul wrote it.

book* the formula is demonstrated to be intuitive, *a priori*, preceding all judgments *a posteriori*, and rendering them possible. "It is possible," he says, "to obtain this synthesis, the adequate philosophcial formula, only as it reveals and affirms itself *a priori* in direct and immediate intuition, in which we ourselves are but simple spectators."† The intuition here described is plainly not empirical, but pure, or ideal, a distinction more clearly set forth and insisted on in later writings.‡ Another point of importance not explained with sufficient clearness in Brownson's article "An *a priori* autobiography" is what he meant by the ideal intuition of being. There are expressions in this and some of the succeeding articles on metaphysics, which would indicate that he asserted intuition of God directly and immediately. Certainly he never intended at any period of his life to teach that man has direct and immediate intuition of God, as God; but he had maintained from the first moment that he began to write on philosophy, that man has intuition of absolute ideas, not derived from experience, of the good, the true, the necessary, and that these are not mere abstractions of the mind operating on concrete objects of experience, which are bad or imperfect, false or contingent, and he further held

* "An *a priori* Autobiography," Review, January, 1850, p. 1, Works, vol. i., p. 214.

† Works, vol. i., p. 241.

‡ Attention is also called to the passage quoted, which was written in 1849, because Rev. A. F. Hewit in "The Catholic World," said that Brownson never made the intuition ideal, until frightened into it by the *Syllabus* of Pius IX, attached to his encyclical of December 8, 1864. Hewit would perhaps have changed the date to the condemnation of Guenther and his school, March 30, 1857, but for the fact that he himself was maintaining something very much like "Immediata Dei cognitio, habitualis saltem, intellectui humano essentialis est ita ut sine ea nihil cognoscere potest, siquidem est ipsum lumen intellectuale," the first of the condemned propositions of Guenther, during the interval from 1857 to 1865. Of this more further on.

that these are identified by reflection with God, the true, the good, the necessary, the infinite, and therefore, the intuition of these is virtually, though not formally, intuition of real and necessary being, and that real and necessary being is God.

It was not as a mere speculation of philosophical inquiry, or for the purpose of exhibiting dialectical ability that Brownson wearied over these matters. I very much doubt if a mistake in matter of faith is as fertile in errors as one in the principles of philosophy. Catholics can easily correct dogmatic errors, if they are docile to the decisions of the church; but an error in the very starting point of philosophy may overthrow all belief, and apostasies without end may be traced to the discrepancy between the philosophy and the theology taught for centuries past. Dr. Cummings had devoted much study and great ability to the subject of Catholic education, and the opinion he expresses in a letter given in this chapter, that the pantheistic or else egoistic starting point of philosophy taught in our colleges and universities is not only incontrovertibly fatal to the political principles of youth, but equally deplorable for its effect on dogmatic theology, is worthy of serious meditation.

Just after finishing his article on Greene's *a priori* autobiography, Brownson speaks of it in a letter to Cummings, in the following terms:

BOSTON, Oct. 22, 1849.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I have been waiting impatiently for the last three weeks for your promised article. I want it very much, and pray you to let me have it as soon as you can conveniently, at least to let me know

how soon you can send it, and the probable number of pages MS. it will be. I have a literary article from Miles, which I shall publish in my next number, and also an article on the "Worship of Images," from Philadelphia,* and very good. I have just written a profound and masterly article, of course, on metaphysics, or the first philosophy, which I shall expect you to be enraptured with, for it is in the sense and spirit, if I mistake not, of your favorite Gioberti. How much I am really indebted to Gioberti I do not know. I have read the first four chapters of his *Introduzione allo studio della Filosofia*, and the reading has constantly cleared up my views, and without it I certainly should not, and perhaps could not, have written it. I make in a note all suitable acknowledgments, at least all that just now it can be prudent to make, both as it regards the public and myself, because he is in bad odor, and I do not know whether I agree with him throughout or not.

I had last summer, spring rather, my mind called back to my metaphysical studies, by learning the philosophy taught by Father Sopranis in Worcester College. *Inter nos*, I will say that it struck me that it was essentially unsound, and my son told me he found it leading him, in spite of himself, to pantheism, and that he was able to save himself only by making his act of faith. I suggested to him some objections to it, which he presented to the professor, for which the professor called him in class an infidel and a blasphemer, this led me to re-examine the subject, and I have done it by the aid of Gioberti.

Many years ago I came to the conclusion that it was

* By Bishop Kenrick.

impossible to think without the presence of the intelligible, and, therefore, that the intelligible cannot be sought and found by the intellect, but must present and reveal itself. Hence, I drew the conclusion either no intellection, no knowledge, no philosophy, or the intelligible reveals and affirms itself to us, or that the principles of philosophy, which it is the province of method to apply to the solution of special problems, can be obtained by us only as they are divinely revealed to us in direct and immediate intuition. I also came to the conclusion that from the simple conception of being, *ens reale est*, it is impossible to deduce the conception of existences, and therefore either dead pantheism or autotheism, or direct and immediate intuition of existences, that is of the formula, *ens reale creator est*. This formula contained all the necessary principles of philosophy, and as what is known intuitively is a genuine revelation of the intelligible by itself, I simply said the principles of philosophy are and must be divinely revealed, and to pretend that we ourselves seek and find them is to deny the possibility of philosophy, and to place it on the route to scepticism and nihilism, or nullism. There I stopped, and for four or five years was employed in the study of theology, and took the philosophy I found mingled with the theology in the authors I studied, without tracing it back to its foundation, or examining it to see if really sound or not. But when I found the Catholic professor virtually adopting Cartesianism, and sending his students out destitute of the intelligibility or principles of philosophy, to seek them, and attempting to demonstrate them, when by the very supposition, he had no principle of demonstration,

I was startled, and recalled to my old philosophy, and led to suspect that a man may be a very orthodox theologian, so far as he relies on faith, but a very heterodox philosopher. Gioberti confirmed me in my suspicions, and I have turned metaphysician once more, with what success, it is not for me to say; but I have struck at the whole fabric of modern philosophy, and have endeavored to revive the philosophy of St. Augustine and the great fathers and doctors of the church. It is possible I shall disturb a hornet's nest, but my bishop has given me his imprimatur.

Indeed, the more I reflect on the subject, the more evident it appears to me that we owe many of the errors of modern times to the unsound philosophy of Catholic theologians. Has it ever occurred to you that modern radicalism is nothing but the development of Gallicanism transferred from the church to the state, or that principle of Gallicanism which derives the infallibility of the papal decision from the subsequent assent of the church? Is it not possible to detect the germs of all we have now in philosophy, in politics, and even in theology to oppose, in our own authors? Have heretics ever done anything more than seize and develop some principle emitted by orthodox doctors? It strikes me all heresies have their seminal principles among ourselves, and are effectually refuted only in correcting our own philosophy, intellectual, moral, and political.

But I am running into a dissertation, when I intended only a brief epistle. I regret to learn that the wind did not spare your church. But the good Father would try your faith and your patience. He has had his purpose in it, and a good purpose. So I trust you

will feel no discouragement, but as St. Paul and his companions, when they came in sight of the Three Taverns,* thank God and take courage, although labor and martyrdom were before them. Remember, me reverently and affectionately to the Bishop, his grace that is or is soon to be, kindly, cordially to my friend Mac, and believe me truly your friend in Xt. and obedient servant.

O. A. BROWNSON.

REV. J. W. CUMMINGS, D. D.,

St. Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y.

Unable to keep his promise made in June, to prepare an article for the October Review, Cummings makes excuse that he was too busy.

NEW YORK, October 26th, 1849.

DEAR FRIEND—I have been kept so busy since I wrote to you that I have not been able to mature the article on Ecclesiastical History. I must, therefore, beg your indulgence again. But I do not intend to beg off altogether. I will be in Boston to lecture on the 15th of November, and as the lecture is a pretty good one, and will be fairly written out by that time, I hope it will answer for an article. The subject is "Religion in Society." We might put the title of the "Solution de Grands Problèmes" at the head of the article, and pave the way for Mrs. Ripley's translation. We have not yet wound up with the Appletons, and cannot say whether they will publish it or not.

I am delighted to hear of your article (An a Priori Autobiography) on the starting-point of metaphysics. I have never been able to see anything on the subject in

*Acts xxvii; 15.

the *courses* of philosophy but a vibration from egoism to pantheism; and if, as you say, the effect of these crude ontological systems is fatal to the political principles of European youth (an incontrovertible fact), I can assure you that it is not to be less deplored from its influence on dogmatic theology. You are at work again to write the first letter on the old Aristotelian *tabula rasa*. Are you aware of a great dispute very near akin to your subject between Rosmini on the one side, and Galluppi on the other, and subsequently Gioberti? It arose in consequence of Rosmini's proposed system of innate ideas. Your investigation lies back of it, for they virtually admitting the necessity of the *intelligibile* in some more available shape than Cartesianism, Condillacism, or Kantism, had been able to present it in,—were ever busy about the *how* it was presented, not exactly the *what*. As I never read Gioberti's *Introduzione*, perhaps I do not use your expression precisely in the sense you take it, but I have often studied the subject, and spoken of the evil consequences of its vague and gratuitous presentation by what are called Treatises of Catholic Philosophy. If we could get rid of pantheistic philosophy, and the heathen literature which our youths in college go through as a preparation for it, the Political Reformers would not find so many gulls amongst the younger portion of European ex-Collegians and University boys.

Excuse my hasty letter, and prepare yourself for many anxious questions when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in Boston. We will then also arrange matters for your lecture in New York.

Believe me, yours sincerely and respectfully,

J. W. CUMMINGS.

On receipt of this last letter from Cummings, Brownson wrote him:

BOSTON, Oct. 30, 1849.

MY DEAR DR. CUMMINGS:—I am greatly obliged to you for the promise of the article, and shall rely on it. Nevertheless, do not abandon the one on Ecclesiastical History. It is much wanted.

As to the *Solution de Grands Problèmes*, I am afraid if only the first part is published, it will not take well. The first volume is a little dull, and does not promise all the work turns out to be. When I recommended Mrs. R. to translate it, I had not read it. I am now reading it. The work is not precisely *what*, but it is *more* than I expected. If the Appletons will publish it, it will have a grand sale; if only one of our publishers issue it, it will drag heavy. It is a good book, but it does not compare with Balmes. I wish the Appletons could be induced to publish an edition of Hanford's translation of Balmes. It is *the* book for our times, and every nerve should be strained to get it before the American public. It does for Protestantism under the political and social, what Moehler does for it under the dogmatical, and Gioberti under the philosophical point of view. Gioberti has injured himself by attempting to make his philosophy subsidiary to his politics, and I fear that his war upon the Jesuits and hatred of Austria will prevent his philosophy from receiving the consideration that is its due; but as far as my knowledge extends, Moehler, Balmes, and Gioberti are the three great authors of our times, and whose writings are the magazine from which the rest of us must draw our ammunition in fighting heresy. Moehler has for ever silenced

the dogmatic pretensions of Protestantism, Gioberti its philosophical, and Balmes its social and political. Germany, Italy, Spain have each spoken. These three authors, very unlike, each the representative of the genius of his nation, seem to me to have instaurated the polemics of the century, and their works, that is, Moehler's *Symbolik*, Gioberti's *Introduzione allo Studio della Filosofia*, *expurgated* of some things not connected with his philosophy [and Balmes's *Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo*] are the three which it is of the greatest importance now to have studied by both Catholics and Protestants. All three are, from their respective points of view, judgments calmly and deliberately pronounced on Protestantism, in the name of human reason, and by men who were competent to pronounce the final judgment of mankind.

I have said these men have instaurated the polemics of the 19th century. It would, perhaps, be more true to say, they have closed the controversy and pronounced judgment, leaving us nothing to do, but to carry the judgment into execution. It is remarkable that no one of them adopts the old polemical tone. It is not the advocate that speaks, it is the judge, simply summing up the case and applying the law. Is not this fact significant? Judgment is not pronounced till after death. Is it not, therefore, evident that Protestantism is dead, that is has virtually fallen into the past, and that men unconsciously think and speak of it as a thing that was? *Fuit Ilium.* Look where you will, men are writing, not the annals, not the chronicles, but the history of Protestantism, and history is a record of the past. There is no history of the church; you have annals,

chronicles, and history of this or that event, but none of the church proper, for she is living. The tone or manner adopted by these great men, in speaking of Protestantism, is in my view an instructive fact, for it indicates their consciousness of having the whole fact before them.

I am glad to find you sympathizing with me in my philosophical aspirations. I have not read Galluppi, nor do I know the ground he takes in opposition to Rosmini, but Rosmini's doctrine I believe I know, and if I do, I reject it. I go against innate ideas, and for direct, immediate intuition; I agree with Rosmini that *l'ente* is the *forma* of the intellect, but I differ from him as to its being *l'ente in genere*, and make it *l'ente reale*. I do not make the idea of being innate, but suppose real being to reveal itself immediately to our intellect in direct intuition, and by this revelation our intellect is constituted, not *vis intellectiva*, but *intellectus* or *vis intellectiva* that *intellects*, that is, intellect *in actu*, or the *vis* exerted and completed in act. It is not innate, for it is not in the psychological faculty, but is the object of that faculty, and present to it as its object, perhaps, at as early a period as the advocates of innate ideas themselves contend. The *vis intellectiva* is *in potentia* in regard to its object, the intelligible, and can act only as the object presents itself to it as the intelligible, as we cannot see without seeing somewhat, nor without something visible to be seen. The advocates of innate ideas, make the idea, not the intelligible object, essential and indispensable to every act of intelligence, but, if I understand them, the *inneity* of the intellect itself, which in the fact of knowledge is presented, not in the object known, but as an element of the subject

knowing, and which the subject, as Leibnitz contends, supplies from its own funds. I would rather say, since the idea is God, that we are born in it than that it is born in us.

I see Mac charges Gioberti's philosophy with being a subtle Lamennaisism. I think he is absolutely wrong in this. If he had said there is subtle Lamennaisism in the book, he might, perhaps, say something in his defence, but there never was a philosophy more directly opposed to Lamennaisism than Gioberti's, as I understand them. I will not swear by Gioberti as a man or a politician, but as a philosopher I will till better informed, but he needs to be read with care, and to be correctly understood, for he can easily be made to say what he does not.

But I am wearying you with my nonsense. I trust I shall see much of you when here.

Yours truly,

O. A. BROWNSON.

The lecture on "Religion in Society" was published in Brownson's Review for January, 1850, under the form of a review of *Solution de Grands Problèmes, mise à la portée de tous les Esprits, Par l' Auteur de Platon-Polichinelle*. The same author, I think, wrote the "*Onguent contre la morsure de la Vipère noire, composé par le Dr. Evariste Gypendole, Ancien Chirurgien Major de la Vieille Garde, Médecin Consultant du Roi de Lahore*, etc., which Bishop Fitzpatrick translated in great part, for the April Review, 1845. The author's real name was Martinet. The "*Solution de Grands Problèmes*" in Mrs. Ripley's translation received the title of "Religion in Society."

Perhaps the most offensive articles, to a large number of Brownson's readers, not excepting those on the Irish movement,* were his efforts to combat the prevailing liberalism of the day by his articles on Authority and Liberty,† on Civil and Religious Toleration,‡ and on the Licentiousness of the Press.§

The revolutionary spirit of 1848 was as active in a large class of American Catholics as with the European radicals, and it was strengthened with the notion very extensively entertained by them that the state is independent of the moral or spiritual order, the worst of the four Gallican assertions of 1682. He therefore shows that the state's independence of the spiritual order, embodied in the church, is pure despotism. A still worse despotism threatened society in the radical spirit, whose principles are subversive of all order and must eventuate in the destruction of both church and state. La Mennais and his associates proposed an alliance between Catholicity and radicalism, and though promptly condemned by Gregory XVI, the poison went on spreading far and wide in the Catholic body. Outside of that body, Brownson had for years preached the democracy of Christianity when he was a liberal, a radical; for he had studied the subject, and regarded the policy as highly favorable to the views he then held, and as hostile to all in church and state to which he was himself opposed; and it was not difficult for him when he had ceased to belong to the "movement," and had become a Catholic, to see that it was directly hostile to everything he must, as a Catholic, uphold as dear and sacred. He

* Shandy McGuire, vol. xvi., p. 144, and Ventura's Funeral Oration on O'Connell, vol. x., p. 69.

† Vol. x., p. 111.

‡ 1^b., p. 207.

§ xvi., p. 133.

had detected it before the French revolution of February, 1848, in the speeches of Montalembert and in the writings of Lacordaire, and had condemned it in Ventura's oration on O'Connell, and if anything could have shaken his Catholic faith, the shouts of *viva Pio IX* from Protestant, infidel, and socialistic throats would have done it. Long before the revolution of 1848, Brownson had freely censured the French Catholics, not for opposing the government in Louis Philippe's reign, as though their motives were not justifiable, or the ends sought not legitimate and desirable, but for the manner in which they conducted their opposition, and the spirit and tendency they indirectly and unintentionally encouraged, yielding too much to the so-called liberals, and not sufficiently careful to mark the line which separates loyal and conservative from factious, radical, and destructive opposition. In the article on the Licentiousness of the Press,* Brownson tells the French that their government must be either Catholic or Socialistic; for there are but two principles in French society,—the Catholic principle and the Socialistic,—and no government can live that does not strictly conform to one or the other of these. Socialist it cannot be, for socialism is incompatible, as he shows, with the existence of human society. France seemed to be pretty thoroughly aroused to the dangers of socialism, or red-republicanism, and the danger he foresaw was from the party of Tocqueville, the minister of foreign affairs. "These men" he described as "destitute of all true statesmanship: they are mere theorists, who have not the sense to perceive that a policy that might be admissible when

* Works, vol. xvi, p. 133.

the question is the gradual restriction of an authority too unlimited for liberty, must be wholly misplaced when the question is the reconstruction of power and the re-establishment of order. They are not exactly socialists; they are not exactly democrats; they reject and accept a little of all parties, and pass for moderate, judicious men; but being men without any consistent principles of their own, men of compromise, neither exactly one thing nor another, and appealing to no great and commanding principle in the national mind or heart, they cannot but prove themselves utterly impotent to found a strong and stable government, such as France now needs."* Montalembert's acceptance of the Reviewer's criticism was expressed in a letter dated January 28, 1850, in which he says: "Je suis complètement et en tout de votre avis. J' ai aimé et j' aime encore la liberté; mais je reconnaiss, avec vous, que j' ai trop souvent, confondu sa cause aver celle de la Révolution. Je suis occupé maintenant à réparer le mal auquel j' ai très involontairement contribué, et je m' efforce d' extirper du Camp Catholique l' esprit révolutionnaire que la polémique et l' influence délétère de l' atmosphère politique ou sociale où nous vivons y ont fait pénétrer. J'ignore si mes amis et moi nous réussirons dans cette rude tâche; mais j' y consacrerai tout ce qu' il me reste de force et de courage; et après avoir lutté pendant vingt ans contre l' idolâtrie *gallicane*, qui confondait l' autel avec le trône, je lutterai vingt ans encore, s' il le faut, contre l' idolâtrie bien plus révoltante encore qui veut nous faire adorer la démocratie comme la conséquence du Christianisme. J' ai toujours

* *Ib.* p. 142.

détesté la démocratie, par instinct d'abord, et maintenant par raison, et par suite de l'expérience que nous vaut l'histoire contemporaine, des maux incalculables dont ce principe politique est la source. Je vous sais un gré infini de m'avoir prouvé, par votre exemple, que l'on peut être même républicain sans être démocrate. Ce n'est pas que je crois ou que je tienne à la durée de la république en France. Mais la république n'est qu'une forme, plus ou moins légale, plus ou moins salutaire, du gouvernement temporel. La démocratie est un principe radicalement incompatible avec la nature humaine, avec la nature sociale, et surtout avec l'Eglise Catholique. La démocratie est la fille du rationalisme. Elle n'est au fond autre chose que le socialisme : et c'est sous ce dernier nom qu'il convient surtout de l'attaquer. Je résume tout ce que je pense à ce sujet per ce mot que j'ai recueilli de la bouche du plus docte et du plus distingué de nos prélates (lui-même fils de laboureur), l'archevêque de Reims, 'La démocratie est la grande hérésie du XIXe Siècle.'

"Je ne sais si vous avez lu dans l'*Ami de la Religion* d'Octobre 1848 les deux lettres que j'ai écrites contre la funeste pensée qu'avait conçue alors le P. Lacordaire et ses disciples de proclamer une alliance entre l'Eglise et la Démocratie dans leur journal, l'*Ere Nouvelle*, qui est heureusement tombé."

The same writer says in a letter written on Easter Sunday, 1850: "My satisfaction and my *edification* have been so great that I think I cannot better employ some moments of this Holy Day than in thanking you *ex imo corde* for the good you have done me. I am happy to state that I am in perfect unison with you. Nothing

can exceed nor indeed equal, in my opinion, your most judicious, because most righteous, appreciation of men and things in Europe. I can but admire how the light of *Faith* and *Prayer* can illuminate, at so many thousand miles distance the events and characters of our hemisphere.

"I have been particularly struck and affected by your reflections on the different success which attends on those who denounce authority and those who defend it. (April, 1847, pp. 139-141.)* I can feel the pungent truth of all you say on this subject, as I am at present the object of great obloquy and almost complete dereliction on the part of the Catholic public of this country, because ever since the fate of the Swiss *Sonderbund* in 1847, I have perceived and proclaimed the danger of that false liberalism which has corrupted the whole of Europe, and has crept into the core of Catholicism both in France and Italy. The *Univers* itself, although free from many of the follies and flatteries which distinguish the school of F. Lacordaire and his associates, can and will not forgive me for having said that we had *all* gone *too far* in our opposition to regular and civil authority, during the last reign. *A journalist can do no wrong*, is the axiom of our cotemporaries; alas! I think the contrary would be truer: *a journalist can do no good!* Exceptions like you, my dear sir, can only but *prove the rule*. I trust you will not have allowed yourself to be led astray by the denunciation of the *Univers* against our new law on Education. I assure you that this law (which was neither framed nor suggested by me, but which I have adopted and defended out of *submission* to

* Works, vol. vi, pp. 285 6.

the superior intelligence of Mgr. Dupanloup and M. de Falloux), that this law, I say, is as good *as possible*, and quite sufficient to enable the clergy to give all the education required here, if our clergy has zeal and devotion enough to make use of the *immense* rights and privileges they are invested with by the new legislation. But it is much more easy and convenient to read, and even to write, newspapers and pamphlets, as we have done for the last twenty years, against government and ministers, than to *make the best* of those instruments which providence allows us to find at hand. Compare our law with the famous Bill of *Catholic Emancipation* in England, and you will be astonished at the conquest we have achieved. The ungrateful violence we have experienced on the part of so many Catholics is to me a proof of the value of our work, imperfect and incomplete as it is, like everything human, and particularly like everything political in our days. I trust you will have read the last pamphlet of the Bishop of Langres on this *vexata quæstio*, which I send you *per post*. I am eager to know *how* and *whether* I can address you *per post* books or printed documents. I recommend to your most sympathetic attention our last publication: the Speeches and Letters of Sr. Donoso Cortés, Marquis of Valdegamas. You will be delighted with them."

The pamphlet, referred to in this letter, by Mgr. Parisis, Bishop of Langres, and Member of the French Assembly, was a very full explanation of the Law on Education, which although unnecessarily complicated, and far from perfect, Brownson regarded as on the whole a great gain for religion, and likely to have a salutary effect in its practical workings as against socialists and

enemies of public order. The Holy Father, in permitting the bishops to coöperate with the government in carrying it into effect, exhorts them, where the result of the law would be mixed schools, to establish separate schools for Catholics, and admonishes them "to call often to the recollection of the faithful the fundamental dogma—out of the Catholic Church there is no salvation." At least three times already had Pius IX, the fourth year of whose reign was not yet completed, urged the bishops and clergy to impress on the faithful the absolute necessity of the Catholic faith to salvation. He failed, however, to check the growth of latitudinarianism in the United States. Brownson had been abused by some Catholics for insisting on the Catholic dogma, and was to be more so hereafter. It was in view of this dogma also that he found fault with the anonymous editor of "St. Vincent's Manual," who in a note explains away the text of Pius IV's Profession of Faith, and Dr. McCaffrey, while agreeing with him, felt unable to get the publishers to cancel the obnoxious commentary. At the present time, scarcely any Catholic periodical in this country, published in English, accepts the dogma, without such qualifications as make it futile.

The fear of wounding Protestant susceptibilities by any insinuation that those out of the church are not just as much in the way of salvation as are Catholics,—namby-pamby Catholicity, as Brownson termed it,—was found in Lower Canada as well as here. Brownson had never lectured in that province till the spring of 1850, when he received an invitation through James Sadlier, the publisher, to deliver a course of lectures in Montreal.

Brownson replied, accepting the invitation subject to the approval of the Bishop of Montreal, Mgr. Bourget, and gave the titles of the proposed lectures. In reply Sadlier wrote:

MONTREAL, 15 March, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—On receipt of your note I waited on his Lordship the Bishop of Montreal, and he not only gave his permission, but he is delighted at the idea of your coming. At the same time he suggested to you the propriety of changing the name of your first lecture, as he thought the name might probably deter many Protestants from attending,—still he thought the same lecture might be delivered under a different name.

The policy of the church here is, when treating points of dispute between them and the sectaries, to excite as little angry feeling as possible. Some think they stretch those peace resolutions a little too far, especially as the Protestants are unsparing in their denunciation of the church. I thought it well to mention this matter to you, not that his Lordship intimated even in the remotest degree anything of the kind, but I know that instructions to that effect are given to the clergy and I thought it well that you might be acquainted with the fact.

Every person to whom I have spoken, Protestant and Catholic, seems pleased with your coming. The New-Englanders particularly, notwithstanding your “embracing the errors of popery,” are somewhat proud of you, and you will find a large number of them amongst your audience.

You will be kind enough to drop me a line on receipt of this.

I am yours respectfully,

J. SADLIER.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston.

As soon as the last proofs of the April Review were corrected, the editor started for Montreal to fulfil his engagement there. To one born and bred in the United States, Montreal seems very much more like a European than an American town, and presents many objects of interest to the visitor. The people, too, are different in many of their ways of thinking and acting from those in the towns where Brownson had hitherto lectured or visited. He was pleased with his experience there, and for many years after repeated his visit. The last lecture of the course had been set for Tuesday, April 16th; but the Friday before a request was made for one more lecture on the 18th, which Brownson gave. On the 19th he took the boat for Quebec where the Abbé Taschereau, afterwards Archbishop of Quebec, and some of his friends had made arrangements for a repetition of the Montreal course of lectures. From Quebec he returned to Montreal in time to witness the celebration of the Feast of the Ascension with much pomp in the large church of Notre Dame, leaving for Boston the next day, and reaching home on Saturday, May 11th. Among the friendships formed by Brownson in Montreal, it is pleasant to recall those with Mrs. James Sadlier, the well-known author; with A. La Rocque who procured him a long list of subscribers to his Review and whom Brownson assisted by advice and information in the plan he was then engaged in of establishing a

House of Correction and Refuge under the management of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and with George E. Clerk, whose father is said to have been the original Jonathan Oldbuck. It was proposed while Brownson was in Montreal to start a Catholic journal in the English language; the plan was put in execution a few months later, and Clerk became the editor. His long and valuable service on the "True Witness" deservedly place him in the foremost rank of Catholic editors. His letter to Brownson when it was decided to start the new paper will interest his former readers, at least.

MONTRÉAL, July 3d, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR:—You, I trust, will excuse the liberty I take in thus addressing you. As members of the church of Christ we have a bond of union which renders unnecessary the vain formalities of a mere worldly acquaintance. When you were in Montreal you were aware that it was proposed to establish an English Catholic Journal to repel the attacks made against us by our Protestant and infidel enemies. Since your departure the matter has not been allowed to lie idle; the Bishops have taken it up warmly, and have requested me to undertake the superintendence of the newspaper to be called the "True Witness." His Lordship of Montreal, knowing your zeal for everything connected with our Holy Religion, held out to me hopes that, perhaps, you also would from time to time be induced to favor us with your support, perhaps occasionally a few lines from your pen. For you may be assured that your chaff will be of more use to us than any other man's wheat. I therefore take the liberty of forwarding you a prospectus, which has been published

here, as a manifesto of our objects and of the reasons which have induced the Catholics of Canada to take up arms in their own defence. Now, what I would ask is this, that you would sometimes be good enough to favor me with your views, with your advice. As an old soldier, I a recent recruit, ask instruction as to the mode of carrying on the spiritual warfare in which I am about to be engaged—to be allowed to have the honor of reckoning you amongst our correspondents, with or without, the sanction of your name, as to you may seem the more appropriate. Could you recommend any peculiar mode of study or of argument to be adopted, you would confer a great favor upon me.

I have just had the pleasure of reading your July number, which only increases in me, and I may say in all who read it, the desire that we be again favored with another visit, that we may again have the pleasure of hearing you take up your testimony in the cause of truth.

We hope to be able to get about 1,000 subscribers to our proposed paper, and when the subscription list shall have been made up to that amount, the first number will make its appearance. Allow me to recommend myself and the undertaking to your prayers, and believe me, my dear sir, very respectfully yours,

GEORGE EDWARD CLERK.

In September Sadlier wrote:

MONTREAL, Sept. 24, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—His Lordship, the Bishop of Montreal, was speaking to Mr. La Rocque a few days since, when he expressed a wish that you would come and deliver some more lectures here this fall or winter. I am sure

that you would attract much larger audiences than you did on your former visit. Many persons have been speaking to me on the subject and all are of the same opinion. If you can come without great inconvenience to yourself, do so. Your lectures last winter have done a great deal of good to Catholics as well as set a number of Protestants inquiring. The "True Witness" has already over 1,000 subscribers and the list is increasing daily. The proprietors (Messrs. Clerk and Sharing) have purchased type and a press, and have a very nice office, and there is no doubt of their success, if they are only careful.

Hoping that you are in the enjoyment of good health, I am yours respectfully,

J. SADLIER.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston.

In the latter part of October, and the first part of November, Brownson lectured again in Montreal to increased numbers of intelligent listeners. In one of these lectures while condemning the practice of divorce, the lecturer proclaimed a view regarding marriage which he had put forth in the Boston Quarterly Review when he was a preacher, that marriage is a contract between two parties to live together till death shall part them; that an agreement to live together till one or the other shall ask for a divorce is nothing else than legalized concubinage; and if the parties so mean to agree, even though the words may be "till death shall part them," it is not marriage. At the next session of the Canadian Legislature a divorce bill was introduced, and in the discussion of the subject in the journals Brownson's declaration was greatly distorted, as is shown by

the following communication from the Editor of the "True Witness:"

MONTREAL, May 31st.

DEAR DOCTOR:—I would not trouble you to notice the impertinencies of Protestant papers; but when a journal, nominally at least Catholic, and giving itself the air of being a *quasi* organ of the ecclesiastical authorities, presumes to repeat and endorse these calumnies, the case is different.

A discussion has arisen as to the propriety of Catholic members of our Legislature voting for a Divorce Bill. The *Canadien*, by repute a Catholic organ,—in reality the mere organ of the Ministry,—takes the affirmative and insists!!! that Protestant marriages are voidable because their validity is rejected by the Church. Our funny friend cites also one Dr. Brownson as having publicly stated in his lectures in Canada "That Protestant marriages were null, and, at bottom, nothing but concubinage." These expressions were indeed attributed to you by the Protestant papers of Canada, to whom I gave a flat contradiction. But now that this same story is repeated in a Catholic paper, the affair is more serious, and it would be well if you would write to me, as soon as possible, contradicting this monstrous statement of the *Canadien*.

That amongst *unbaptized* persons no valid marriage—*sacramental marriage*—can be contracted, is certain; and it is also certain that too many of the Americans are unbaptized, and therefore incapable of contracting Christian marriage. But this is not the question. You are made to say, that Protestant marriages are but concubinage. It is this I would wish you to contradict, *once for all*, in the True Witness.

I wish I could flatter myself with the hopes of soon seeing you again. All here are well, and desire to be kindly remembered.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

GEORGE E. CLERK.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston.

Bishop Kenrick wrote an article on Bishop England's Works for Brownson's Review for April, 1850, and accompanied it by this note:

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I send by the express the promised Review of Bishop England's Works, leaving it entirely to your judgment whether to suppress or to publish it, and to omit portions or give it in full. The anecdote about the interment scene may be trivial. The attack on Gallicanism may arouse some slumbering foe.

We hoped to have had the pleasure of a visit and a Lecture, but have lately understood that you had declined. I regret that there was no active friend here to make the arrangements and urge you to compliance. To me your visits will be always most gratifying. The loss which you have suffered by your agent induces me to beg your acceptance of the inclosed contribution to your indemnification. It is too bad to be swindled out of the subscriptions.

I hope your health and spirits are good, and your resolution firm not to abandon the good work. The Charleston Mercury does justice to its high literary character. The C. Mirror has a handsome notice of it, but unnecessarily complains of the praise given to the philosophical genius of Gioberti. Mr. Major is now

sole editor of the Herald. He noticed this number of the Review by anticipation.

With sincere esteem and attachment, I remain,
Dear Sir, your constant friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Bp. Pha.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 28, 1850.

In connection with Kenrick's reference to the loss sustained by the defalcation of the Philadelphia agent for the Review, a letter from his vicar general, the Bishop elect of Savannah, though not consecrated till three months later—will show how much annoyance was caused the Editor by the necessity of selecting Catholic agents. Had he, on becoming a Catholic, continued to send his Review to those who had previously distributed it, and when more agents were in demand selected established houses he would very likely have found a larger circulation among those who were not Catholics, and, so far as concerns Catholics, if they subscribed for the Review, they did so because they wanted it, not because the agents, as a rule, did much to gain subscribers. The pecuniary loss from defalcation of agents, first, and later on, of his New York publishers, and the London publisher of the English edition of his Review, was large, and to one who could so ill afford it, very serious.

Bishop Gartland's letter was as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, August 19, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR :—I am indebted to you for the current year of your Review. Some weeks ago Mr. Ful-

lerton called upon me for the amount, but I declined paying him, because I concluded that either you had withdrawn your agency from him, or else you were not aware that he had been compelled by his want of success to abandon the book business. I do not know that he exactly failed—but it was the next thing to it. In case you change your agency, I think either Mr. Cummiskey or Mr. McGrath would suit you, and would be safe. The latter, I think, would serve your purpose best. Or how would it do to ask Appleton or Pennington to be your agent?—both houses of high standing—and although Protestants, I think they would accept the agency—Pennington particularly I think would. I think it would serve the Review to have it in the hands of such men. Inclosed you will find \$6, for which you will please forward me a receipt for the present year and the year following. Or if you can let me have the first volume of the old series—I mean the volume for '44—which I have not—probably not having been a subscriber at that time—if then you can let me have a copy of that volume, let \$3 go for it, and the balance for the present year, and send me the receipt accordingly. You will also please forward me the July number for the present year, as it has not yet reached me. I suppose Mr. Fullerton, if he is still your agent, declined leaving it, as I had declined paying him for reasons already stated. I knew that you had lost by Cunningham, and I feared that you were destined to lose by Fullerton also. It is well if you have not. I think he is at present engaged in job printing. His brother-in-law, Mr. Murphy, of Baltimore, gave me to understand that he had lost considerably by him. Mr. F. I believe

to be a well-intentioned and worthy young man—but he has not true business habits.

Truly yours, etc.,

F. X. GARTLAND.

CHAPTER VIII.

WEBSTER.—THE COMMON LAW.—AMERICAN LITERATURE.—DANA.—LOWELL.—EMERSON.—BANCROFT.—HAWTHORNE.—COOPER.—PARKMAN.—RELIGIOUS NOVELS.—GRANTLY MANOR.—TEMPERANCE.—CHINQUIY.—HECKER.

In regard to our foreign relations during Fillmore's administration, it was said that the Whigs were more democratic than the Democrats. The anti-monarchical sympathies of the president and his secretary of state were avowed on every occasion. Webster adopted the policy of Canning and Palmerston, and wanted to intervene everywhere, if not by armed force, at least by diplomacy and public opinion, by exertions to create and foster a public opinion hostile to monarchical governments, and by encouraging the subjects of such governments to attempt to subvert them. His theory of the sovereignty of the people, in the Jacobinical sense, which is now the prevailing theory with nearly every one who has influence in forming the public opinion of the country,—not only political office-seekers, but even high Catholic dignitaries,—is pure political atheism.

That Webster sympathized with the socialistic tendencies of the age in their developments, or wished to weaken the foundations of law and order, is not to be

supposed; but there is no doubt that he was a determined enemy of all governments not based on popular sovereignty, and held it to be the duty of our government to use its influence to revolutionize them and establish popular institutions in their place. In his celebrated letter to the Austrian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington, Brownson shows* that Webster, after all his study of the principles of government, was unable to vindicate the lawfulness of our own without appealing to the detestable principles of European conspirators, Jacobins, red-republicans, socialists, Carbonari, Free-Masons, Illuminati, or Friends of Light, and contending that these cannot be denounced without including those of our own constitution and government;—that this distinguished lawyer and statesman, in a grave official document addressed by him as Secretary of State to the representative of a foreign court in defence of the American government and people, did identify their principles with those of the European rebels and revolutionists, thus asserting the indefeasible right of the people, or part of the people everywhere to conspire, rebel against monarchy, in utter disregard of law, or historical right, for the sake of establishing democracy.

The Reviewer's refutation of that state paper in his Review for April, 1851, was one of the most forcible and logical arguments the writer had ever presented to the public, and he felt great satisfaction at the opportunity of meeting Webster in his own peculiar field and engaging with him with the weapons of his choice. After Webster's death, which happened in the autumn

*Webster's answer to Hülsemann, Brownson's Works, vol. xvi., p. 178.

of 1851, it was stated that a Mr. Hunter, a gentleman employed in the Secretary of State's office, was the real author of the Hülsemann letter, and later that Edward Everett wrote it; but the truth seems to be that both Hunter and Everett prepared drafts from which, especially Everett's, Webster completed the letter, intended to "tell the people of Europe who and what we are, and awaken them to a just sense of the unparalleled growth of this country."*

Discussing Webster's speech on Mr. Clay's resolution, in the Senate of the United States, March 7, 1850, Brownson says it "does the distinguished orator more credit as a man and as a statesman than any other he has ever made. It was worthy of his station and of the occasion, and, in the circumstances in which it was delivered, rises above mere intellectual greatness, and approaches the morally sublime. The orator rises to the full dignity of the American senator, above all sectional prejudices, and all party interests and personal ambition, to those high moral and constitutional principles which so many lose sight of, but which should ever animate and guide the American statesman." No man in the country was more strongly opposed to chattel slavery, or would go further, within the limits of the Constitution, to repress and even abolish it. But in his home politics he was no fanatic, no revolutionist, no mad philanthropist, who, in pursuit of a particular good, was ready to trample down by the way a thousand fold more good than he could possibly gain in gaining the particular end he was seeking. Brownson and Webster were equally opposed to the institution of

*Webster's letter to George Ticknor, Jan. 16, 1851.

slavery and to the abolitionists' plan for getting rid of it at the expense of law and Constitution.

In questions of foreign policy, they were far apart. Webster aimed at the expansion of democracy abroad, wherever the power of the United States was capable of extending it. Brownson was as ardent a supporter of republicanism for his own country without seeking to impose it on the rest of the world. In reviewing Webster's Works which were published a few months before his death, Brownson expresses a very candid and not wholly unfavorable judgment of Webster as a lawyer and an orator. "When he speaks as a lawyer," he wrote,* "according to the principles and maxims of the common law, what he says is remarkable for its good sense, its profound truth, and its practical wisdom; for then he speaks in accordance with the teachings of our holy religion which forms the basis of that law; but when he leaves that, and undertakes to discuss questions which lie further back, he is the disciple of Hampden, Sidney, Locke, and Rousseau, and proceeds from principles which he did not learn from the law, and which are utterly repugnant to it. This is not a peculiarity of Mr. Webster; it was equally the case with the elder Adams, and, indeed, with the whole of the old Federal party; and it was this that prostrated them, notwithstanding their personal respectability and practical wisdom, before their less scrupulous, but more logical and self-consistent rivals, headed by Thomas Jefferson." "Mr. Webster is a lawyer, and we are surprised that he should attribute the freedom and prosperity of our citizens to our political institutions, instead of

*Works, vol. xix, p. 346.

attributing them, as should be done, to the common law, or the system of jurisprudence brought here by our fathers, and inherited from the England that was before the Reformation. It is the common law, with the independent judiciary under it, which Mr. Webster has on more occasions than one so nobly and so powerfully defended, that constitutes the real ground and support of our liberties. Take away the common law, either by substituting a written code for it, or by suffering its principles to be tampered with by the legislatures of the several states as has been done by those that have adopted the Maine Liquor Law, for instance, and destroy the independence of the judiciary by rendering the judges elective for a brief term of office, and re-eligible, and you will soon find that your political forms are impotent to preserve the freedom and prosperity of the citizen. Yet an independent judiciary is discovered to be anti-democratic, and the tendency is now everywhere to sweep it away; public opinion is setting in with a strong tide against the common law, and it is discovered to be democratic to abolish it, and substitute for it an inflexible written code, with new and inept systems of practice, which, while they increase litigation, render justice generally unattainable, except by mere chance."

Webster's application of the common law to the constitutionality of legislative enactments received unbounded commendation from Brownson, who placed the real excellence or glory of our institutions, not in the form of our political organization, as is too often assumed, but in the principle which Webster successfully defended in the Dartmouth College case. This principle, on which he rested his argument, is, that chartered elec-

mosynary institutions, including all educational institutions founded and endowed by private liberality, are private corporations; and that all the rights of private corporations, or rather that all private rights, or rights of private individuals, whether personal or corporate, are determined or defined by the common law, and are inviolable, so that any legislative enactment which infringes them is for that reason alone, unconstitutional and invalid. "Deny this principle, maintain that private rights, whether of persons or things, are creatures of the political power, and subject to the will of the legislature, and you convert the government at once into an arbitrary government, a government of mere will, under which there is no real liberty, no solid security, for either person or property, and this just as much where the will that obtains is the will of the majority, as where it is the will of only one man,—just as much where the form of government is democratic as where it is monarchical."* Much of the article from which these extracts are taken, is devoted to dis- coursing on the merits of the common law, which was the real source of England's greatness, both before and since the Reformation, though statesmen and historians do not perceive it. In the same article Webster's rank as a writer and an orator are discussed very thoroughly, and full justice is done to the greatest of American orators. "We shall look in vain," says the writer, "in the whole range of American secular literature for works that can rival these six volumes before us." "Mr. Webster is free from the ordinary faults of even the more distinguished of the literary men of his

**Ibid.*, p. 356.

country. American literary taste is in general very low and corrupt. Washington Irving and Hawthorne have good taste, are unaffected, natural, simple, easy, and graceful, but deficient in dignity and strength; they are pleasant authors for the boudoir, or to read while resting one's self on the sofa after dinner. No man who has any self-respect will read either of them in the morning. Prescott is gentlemanly, but monotonous, and occasionally jejune. Bancroft is gorgeous, glowing, but always straining after effect, always on stilts, never at ease, never natural, never composed, never graceful nor dignified. He has intellect, fancy, scholarship, all of a high order, but no taste, no literary good breeding. He gesticulates furiously, and speaks always from the top of his voice. In general, we may say of American literature that it is provincial, and its authors are uncertain of themselves, laboring, but laboring in vain, to catch the tone and manner of a distant metropolis. They have tolerable natural parts, often respectable scholarship, but they lack ease, dignity, repose. They do not speak as masters, but as forward pupils. They take too high a key for their voice, and are obliged, in order to get through, to sing in falsetto. . . . From all faults of this kind Mr. Webster is free. . . . He appears always greater than his subject. . . . He has, through his natural modesty, which is one of the most striking traits in his character, and thorough cultivation, the power of forgetting himself, and of not thinking of the impression he is making on others with regard to himself, and consequently he is able to employ the whole force of his intellect, imagination, and learning in stating, illus-

trating, and embellishing his subject. . . . His elocution and diction harmonize admirably with his person and voice, and both strike you at once as fitted to each other. His majestic person, his strong, athletic frame, and his deep, rich, sonorous voice, set off with double effect his massive thoughts, his weighty sentences, his chaste, dignified, and harmonious periods. . . . His words are pure English, and the proper words for the occasion, the best in the language; and his sentences are simply constructed, never involved, never violently inverted, but straightforward, honest, sincere, free from all modern trickery. We know in the language no models better fitted for the assiduous study of the young literary aspirant who would become a perfect rhetorician, or master a style at once free and natural, instructive and pleasing, pure and correct, graceful and elevated, dignified and noble. . . . Burke is the English writer with whom we most naturally compare him. As an orator he is far superior to Burke, as a profound and comprehensive thinker, perhaps, he falls below him; as a writer he is as classical in his style, as cultivated and as refined in his tastes, and simpler and more vigorous in his expression. In many respects Burke has been his model, and it is not difficult to detect in his pages traces of his intimate communion with the great English, or rather Irish statesman, who, perhaps, taken all in all, is the most eminent among the distinguished statesmen who have written or spoken in our language. We have no thought of placing Mr. Webster above him; but he surpasses him in his oratory, for Burke was an uninteresting speaker, and in the simple majesty and repose of his style and

manner. Burke is full, but his fancy is sometimes too exuberant for his imagination, and his periods are too gorgeous and too overloaded. Now and then he all but approaches the inflated, and is simply not bombastic.

. . . . The only modern writers, as far as our limited reading extends, who in this respect equal or surpass Mr. Webster, are the great Bossuet and the German Goethe, though we must exclude Goethe's earlier writings from the comparison. The simple, natural majesty of Bossuet is perhaps unrivalled in any author, ancient or modern, and in his hands the French language loses its ordinary character, and in dignity, grandeur, and strength becomes able to compete successfully with any of the languages of modern Europe. Goethe is the only German we have ever read who could write German prose with taste, grace, and elegance, and there is in his writings a quiet strength and majestic repose which are surpassed only by the very best of Greek or Roman classics. Mr. Webster may not surpass, in the respects named, either of these great writers, but he belongs to their order."*

Lowndes, Hayne, Calhoun, and John Quincy Adams had gone, Clay was dying, and Webster was the last survivor of the great men of that generation, inferior, indeed, to the Washingtons, Adamses, Hamiltons, and Madisons of the generation before them, but far superior to those who were to step into their place. Webster, it is true, was not supposed to be so near his end, and his friends were striving to secure his nomination as the Whig candidate for President; but his wasted countenance and sunken eyes, as I remember him in

*Works, vol. xix.. pp 356-377.

that summer of 1852, were proofs that his end was near.

Another Boston man, of literary attainments of a high order, and a contemporary of Webster, for whom Brownson had great esteem, was Richard H. Dana, son of Francis Dana, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and, by his mother, a grandson of Wm. Ellery, and therefore a cousin of the great Unitarian, William Ellery Channing. Dana was one of the projectors and chief managers of the North American Review, and for a time associated with his cousin, Edward T. Channing, in its editorship. His earliest writings were published in that periodical, the only one of its class in this country that ever attained to anything more than mediocrity. When Dana's prose and poetical works were published in a complete edition, Brownson reviewed them with great care, bestowing high praise for grace of style, clearness and force of expression, and in the political essays, for conservative belief in the necessity of law as the only guaranty of liberty. In Dana's criticism of the Edgeworths, Brownson says that the sound sense and just and acute observation of the critic are surpassed only by his wit and humor; his review of the earlier writings of Washington Irving is pronounced fair and discriminating; and Brownson knew nothing finer, more tasteful, acute, and just in the whole range of literary criticism than his remarks on Pope and his poetry. Delighted to find Dana doing justice to Swift, who, in spite of his faults both as a man and as a writer, of his coarseness, profanity, and cynicism, was taller by the head and shoulders than any of his literary contemporaries, Brownson takes occasion to say that Swift, among all the celebrated writers of Queen Anne's reign,

is the author for whom he has the most esteem and affection ; that he confesses his rare genius, his satirical wit, his strong masculine sense ; and he has a profound respect for his political sagacity and wisdom.

With Dana's high praise of Wordsworth's verse Brownson could not agree ; for though Wordsworth may have formed a pretty just notion of what poetry should be, he spent his life in a vain attempt to realize it, and if he deserves credit for forcing poetry to step down from her stilts, "he will have to answer for not a few of the sins of the more recent schools of the Brownings, the Barretts, the Tennysons, the Lowells, and their fellows, with which our present youthful generation is so grievously afflicted."* If Dana unduly raised the reputation of Wordsworth, he more than made up for it by overthrowing those Boston idols, the utilitarian Edgeworths. His influence on those who were to influence others was great, and will continue to affect our literature, even when his writings shall no longer be read.

Among the younger candidates for literary celebrity, none was more aspiring than the abolitionist and philanthropist, J. R. Lowell, like Dana, a member of a family which had given Massachusetts some distinguished citizens. An early production of his was called *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, reviewed by Brownson in 1849†. The review was severe, and justly so ; for the object of the poem was to show that morality does not belong to the rational, but to the sensible part of man's nature. "Mr. Lowell, he says, "has a lively fancy, a quick eye for material beauty, or, as we say, the beauties of nature, and considerable facility of

* Works, vol. xix., p. 338. † Works, vol. xix., p. 308

expression. He can see and express the beauty of a daisy, of the bee collecting honey, of cows feeding in the pasture, of the cock clapping his wings and crowing, and even something of the life of a spring morning, the sultriness of a summer noon, and of the golden hues of an autumnal sunset; but beyond or above he does not appear able to go. When he aspires, he falls; and when he seeks to express the beauty of moral truth, he only proves that he has never clearly and distinctly beheld it. His glory is that he believes in moral truth,—that he believes that there is the divine and eternal idea back of the ever-changing appearances which flit past his vision; but his misfortune is, that he has never beheld it, that he has, at best, caught only a partial and transient glimpse of the objects around him, in the night, when a sudden flash of lightning for an instant furrows the darkness which envelops them. With solid training under the direction of religion and sound philosophy, which should have given elevation to his soul, clearness to his view, firmness to his will, and sanctity to his aims, he would have been a poet. He has no complaint to bring against Nature. He has, if we may so speak, genius enough potentially, and artistic genius, but has neither been subjected to the discipline, nor has he submitted himself to the serious and patient labor of thought, necessary to reduce the potentiality of his genius to act. Alas! We must say this, not alone of Mr. Lowell, but nearly all our contemporaries, in this superficial and frivolous age."* And of the poem itself, the critic says: "Mr. Lowell has materially changed the char-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

acter of the old legend. In the original legend, the knight, after performing his devotions and preparing himself for the search, went forth in pursuit of the Holy Grail, and the poet simply narrated his adventures, and his success or his failure. Mr. Lowell dispenses with the devotions, with the actual pursuit and adventures, and contents himself with making his knight see a vision. This alteration is characteristic of the difference between the early romantic age and our own. The old knights of romance, whatever the defects of their lives,—and they were rarely perfect models,—were always devout, always retained and loved the faith, and if they sinned were ready to do penance, the next best thing to not sinning; and they really did go abroad, were active, ready, and able to encounter danger and to endure fatigue. They lived and acted in the open world, out of doors, among real objects. But the moderns stay for the most part in doors, repose on soft couches, and dream. Their adventures all pass in their sentimental reveries; their heroic deeds, and knightly conduct, are visions."*

A collection of R. W. Emerson's poems, published in 1847, Brownson pronounced the saddest book he had ever read. "In the poem entitled *Threnody*," says Brownson, "all becomes sombre and dark, vague and misty, and—what is rarely the case with Mr. Emerson—words, words with no distinct meaning, with scarcely any meaning at all. The verse flows on, but the sense stands still. The father's heart recoils from the pit of annihilation; the proud, unbelieving philosopher scorns to yield to the sweet hope of immortality. The father

* *Ibid.* p. 309.

shrinks with horror from the thought that his bright-eyed boy is lost to him forever; the transcendentalist disdains to believe in an uprising of the dead. What then shall he say? What hope can he indulge, what solace dare trust? The bright-eyed boy is not all extinguished. What was elemental in him could not die, and he lives absorbed in the infinite, as a drop in the ocean!"* "Thou here revivest the old Hindu dream, stripped of its self-coherence, reduced to an absurdity so palpable that the veriest child can detect it; and this thou claspest as a spiritual balsam to thy torn and bleeding heart, and wouldest gravely persuade us that it is a sovereign remedy, that it heals thy wound, and makes thee whole, a man, a hale and joyous man again. 'Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain,'—remain when hearts are no more! O my brother, how true it is that when we turn our back on God and his word, esteem ourselves wise, and boast that we have been taught

‘Beyond the reach
Of ritual, Bible, or of speech’

we become—fools! . . . Alas! we are not ignorant of the blindness and deafness of those who are without faith, or of the strange illusion which makes us obstinately persist that we both see and hear. There is something weird and mysterious in the thoughts and feelings which come to us unbidden when we leave faith behind, and fix our gaze intently upon ourselves as upon some magic mirror. The circle of our vision seems to be enlarged; darkness is transformed to light; worlds open upon worlds; we send

* Works, vol. xix., p. 199.

keen, penetrating glances into the infinite abyss of being; the elements grow obedient to us, work with us and for us, and we seem to be strong with their strength, terrible with their might, and to approach and to become identical with the source of all things. God becomes comprehensible and communicable, and we live an elemental life and burn with elemental fire. The universe flows into us and from us. We control the winds, the waves, the rivers and the tides, the stars and the seasons. We teach the plant when to germinate, to blossom, or ripen, the reed when to bend before the blast, and the lightning when to rive the hoary oak. Alas! we think not then that this is all delusion, and that we are under the influence of the fallen angel, who would persuade us that darkness is light, that weakness is strength, that hell is heaven, and himself God. Under a similar influence and delusion labors the author of these poems. There are passages in them which recall all too vividly what we, in our blindness and unbelief, have dreamed, but rarely ventured to utter. We know these poems; we understand them. They are not sacred chants; they are hymns to the devil. Not God, but satan, do they praise, and they can be relished only by devil-worshippers."*

Another friend whom Brownson severely criticised was George Bancroft, who had also, for a short period, been a Unitarian minister. The publication of the fourth volume of the History of the United States was made the occasion of an article in the Review for October, 1852.† Mr. Bancroft is, says the

* *Ibid.*, p. 201. † *Works*, vol. xix, p. 382.

Editor, "unquestionably one of our most distinguished men. He is an accomplished scholar, a man of a high order of intellect, and a brilliant and fascinating writer. He is a hard student, enthusiastic in the cause he espouses, devoted to his principles, and ready to sacrifice himself with the zeal of the missionary for their dissemination. But, although he has studied the history of the United States with praiseworthy care and diligence, and although the discriminating reader may obtain much true history from his learned and brilliant volumes, we are not prepared to assign him the highest rank among genuine historians. Properly speaking, he does not write history, nor even commentaries on history; he simply uses history for the purpose of setting forth, illustrating, confirming, and disseminating his speculative theories on God, man, and society. The history he writes is not written for an historical end, and the facts he relates are grouped and colored in subserviency to his unhistorical purposes." This application of preconceived fancies, caprices, theories, or prejudices to the explanation of historical facts, and the adaptation of the latter to the illustration and support of the former, is a fault common to most modern writers of history, to Herder, Kant, and Hegel, to Cousin, Guizot, and Michelet; and even Carlyle and Macaulay give us for history their speculations on what is not, but according to their theories ought to be, history. They profess to give facts, and along with what they give for facts, so interwoven with them that none but a disciplined mind can separate them, they insinuate into the unsuspecting reader their false and pernicious speculative theories.

This fault is shown by his critic in Bancroft's narrative of the failure of Shaftesbury and Locke's Carolina constitution, in his account of Salem witchcraft, and in what he says of Quakers.* But the most important exposition of Bancroft's infidelity as an historian is furnished by the Reviewer's analysis of the opening chapter of the volume before him,† by which he shows that the author makes nearly as many misrepresentations as he writes paragraphs.

Some Catholics, finding Bancroft apparently praising the Jesuits and Lord Baltimore, had been favorably disposed towards this History, but Brownson shows that in both cases the commendation is at the expense of their religion.‡

Bancroft had written to Brownson: "I want criticism: I have taken so much pains to be accurate, that I am willing and desire to have my book proved in the furnace."§ If one remembers the story of Gil Blas and the archbishop, one may believe that however much criticism is desired, it is not always palatable.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was another friend whom the Reviewer spared not. In reviewing (October, 1850) *The Scarlet Letter*, he says: "Genius perverted, or employed in perverting others, has no charms for us, and we turn away from it with sorrow and disgust. We are not among those who join in the worship of passion, or even of intellect. . . . The story is told

* If the reader will refer to Brownson's Early Life, p. 188, he will find that Bancroft called special attention to what he had written of Locke and Shaftesbury and of Quakers.

† Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iv., pp. 3-13 (1st. Ed.).

‡ In his last edition, I believe both passages are so altered as to omit the commendation.

§ Brownson's Early Life, p. 188.

with great naturalness, ease, grace, and delicacy, but it is a story that should not have been told. . . . There is an unsound state of public morals when the novelist is permitted, without a scorching rebuke, to select such crimes, and invest them with all the fascinations of genius, and all the charms of a highly polished style. In a moral community such crimes are spoken of as rarely as possible, and when spoken of at all, it is always in terms which render them loathsome, and repel the imagination.

"Nor is the conduct of the story better than the story itself. . . . The adulteress suffers not from remorse, but from regret, and from the disgrace to which her crime has exposed her. The minister suffers also, . . . but not from the fact of the crime itself. . . . Neither ever really repents of the criminal deed; nay, neither even regards it as really criminal, and both seem to hold it to have been laudable, because they *loved* one another,—as if that love itself were not illicit and highly criminal. . . . It is not their conscience that is wounded, but their pride. . . . Their (the old Puritans') treatment of the adulteress was far more Christian than his (Hawthorne's) ridicule of it."*

Yet, apart from moral and religious objections, Brownson always ranked Hawthorne high. In 1842

* As one who in early life was a good Puritan, I think there were as many, among those I heard speak, who thought a crime was in being found out, as that it was in the wrongful act. Perhaps the reason of this opinion was that, if found out, it was a sin against society. But in my days Puritanism had developed far beyond what it had been in Hester Prynne's time. In fact, the notion of God was beginning to be that preached by Channing and Emerson; and there was a meaning in the report of a Boston morning paper—*The Atlas*, I think—that a certain minister's prayer was "the most eloquent ever addressed to a Boston audience."

he had said: "His mind is creative; more so than that of any other American writer that has as yet appeared, with the exception, perhaps, of Washington Irving;" and in 1852, when reviewing *The Blithedale Romance*, he pronounces Hawthorne the first writer, in his favorite line, our American literature can boast.

Inferior to Hawthorne in the high finish of his work, Cooper was, in Brownson's estimation, greatly superior in respect of the sound and healthy tendency of his writings, especially his later writings. As works of mere amusement, his earlier works are superior to his later productions, but for depth of thought, solidity of principles, and high moral aims and tendency, they are far inferior. His later works, in which he attempts to correct the foibles, errors, and dangerous tendencies of his countrymen, are preferable to those of his earlier works in which his principal moral aim was to defend our character and institutions against the aspersions and prejudices of Europeans. "We will not say that he has performed the delicate task he undertook with as much adroitness, amiableness, and tenderness as was possible, but he has labored at it in a free, noble, and manly spirit, and deserves the warm gratitude of his fellow-citizens. The press, as was to be expected, since it could not ignore, has assailed him with a spite, bitterness, and meanness worthy of itself and of him. To fall under the condemnation of the American press, as it now is, with a very few exceptions, is a high honor, for it has no appreciation of manliness or nobleness of character, and no real knowledge of the various subjects on which it pronounces its judgments. . . . Mr. Cooper will live in the hearts of

his countrymen when his newspaper assailants are as if they had not been."*

In contrast with Cooper's high-wrought Indian romances, Brownson awards the highest praise to Francis Parkman for the fidelity and pains with which he collected authentic materials for his *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*, for the rare felicity with which he worked them into one of the most truly historical volumes ever issued from the American press. In a rich, animated, varied, flexible, and dignified style, with real historical genius, he has given a just appreciation of the Indian character, which he had studied in the Indian's own village and wigwam.

The only fault found with Parkman's *History* was his skepticism as to the Indian's capabilities for civilization, and his doctrine that it is idle to attempt to convert him from paganism and to incorporate him in the Christian family. The contrary has been so clearly proved by the experience of Catholic nations that but one conclusion can be come to, namely, that some other method than that of the United States government and Protestant missionaries must be resorted to. In this connection I append a letter, from which the signature has been detached, but which I judge to be in the handwriting of the Jesuit Father, P. J. De Smet, who had had a longer and more intimate and extensive knowledge of Indians than Parkman.

WASHINGTON, on the 2nd of June, 1852.

MR. BROWNSON, Editor of the Quarterly Review.

SIR:—I take the liberty to suggest to your wisdom to insert in the next number of your invaluable Review

* Works, vol. xvi., p. 339-340.

(if it be not too late) an article on the scanty remains of so many once powerful Indian tribes living in the United States.

At such a juncture of time and affairs, this article will have a very salutary effect for the welfare and salvation of these poor Indians. The American people who possess their immense and so rich country are naturally predisposed to commiseration towards them. The government is at last decided to take some steps to relieve their miseries and try to civilize them. Many sums of money have been appropriated for their education, but among the measures to be adopted for that purpose none but material measures are mentioned in the report of the Commissioner of Indian affairs on that subject.

The only one civilizing principle is neglected,—the word Religion is not even pronounced, under pretence to exclude what is termed *sectarian spirit*.

Some infidel teachers or bigoted ministers, in which the Indians have repeatedly declared they have no confidence, will be again sent among them; whilst they will be refused those teachers they like and they have desired to obtain in vain. After more than twenty years of experience and of complete failure, the government ought to be fully convinced of the incapacity of the Protestant system to civilize these poor people. Immense sums of money have been expended by the government and by the people of the U. S. rather to the prejudice than for the benefit of these Indians. Very few Catholic missionaries have received a part of these public funds, and their success is very sensible and well known to the government. It is a

fact admitted at all hands, that Catholic Missionaries have more influence over the Indians than all others, and that they have been always and everywhere more successful. Their system and their worship convey a great deal easier the Christian ideas even to the weaker capacities.

I was struck at hearing some Indians calling the Protestant religion *the religion to be done*, and the Catholic, *religion ready made*.

It is a fact also that many Indian tribes have applied to the government for Catholic teachers in their schools, and that their wishes have been always resisted. These abuses may cease, and before few years a remarkable change may take place in the miserable condition of so many Indians of our far West.

Please, Sir, to accept my excuses for writing with so much hurry, I am starting.—

Brownson not only criticised his old Protestant friends with severity, but he was at the same time engaged in finding fault with his new co-religionists. Perfectly aware that by alienating both those from whom he had parted without bitterness and those who had welcomed his coming among them with joyful confidence, he was jeopardizing his prospects of worldly success, he never hesitated to blame what he thought blamable, or to praise what he deemed praiseworthy. He had passions like other men, strong passions; but his love or aversion for an author personally did not often, if ever, so pervert his judgment as to prevent his perceiving the moral or religious tendency of a work, and if this was bad, no literary merit could atone for the evil.

The Catholic novels which fell under the Reviewer's notice usually consisted of two distinct portions, of religious discussion and a love story. "They offer," he says, "a certain quantity of light and sentimental reading, on condition that one consents, without a wry face, to take a certain dose of theology, which, if he is well, he does not need, and which, if he is sick, is not enough to do him any good. Moreover, it may be set down as a general rule, that they who are seriously disposed would prefer taking the theology by itself, and those who are not so disposed will skip it. The one class will regard the light and sentimental as an impertinence; and the other the grave and religious as a *bore*."^{*} The effect of reading sentimental love-tales is manifest in the diseased state of the public mind, and in the growing effeminacy of character and depravation of morals. "Your inveterate novel reader cannot love, in any worthy sense of the term. Her heart is *blasé* before she is out of her teens. Her whole being, body and soul, heart and mind, inside and out, from top to bottom, is diseased, full of wounds and putrefying sores. She has no health, no soundness, no strength to bear even the application of a remedy. She may talk charmingly, vent much exquisite sentiment; but if you want to find true warmth of heart, genuine affection, or a noble and disinterested deed, go not near her. It is this morbid sensibility, this enervating and corrupting sentimentality, which the popular literature of the day encourages, that we oppose, and every enlightened censor of morals does and must oppose."[†]

"The authors of religious novels seem, in general,

* Works, vol. xix., p. 144. † *Ibid.*, p. 146.

to take it for granted that the appeal to the sentimental, to the class of passions and interests appealed to by novelists, in general, is harmless, if made in juxtaposition with an argument for religion. But we cannot but regard this as a mistake."* "The religious will not neutralize the sentimental, and the sentimental is the worst possible preparation for the religious. . . . Amusement, relaxation has its place, and may be innocent and sanitary. But the sentimental is no relaxation, is no amusement. It kills amusement, and substitutes the heart's tears for the heart's joy."† These religious novels he calls literary hybrids, under the relation of art, as offensive as a picture in which the painter joins the beautiful head of a maiden to the body and tail of a fish. From the point of view of Catholic theology, he finds still more to condemn in most of these novels, because in trying to explain and qualify Catholic doctrine so as to elude objections to it, they weaken, if not entirely destroy, its force and meaning, and seek to present Catholicity in its resemblance to, rather than in its contrast with, Protestantism, as if men would abjure Protestantism for the sake of receiving it back under the name of Catholicity.

If novels belong to the sphere of art and are subject to the rules of art, the religious novel must be subject not only to the laws of art, but also to those of religion. But religion is never a development of nature, or the natural exercise or affection of the human. It is always supernatural and divine. The church has produced and fostered art, but not for the sake of art, nor for the sake of pressing the senses, sentiments, and

* *Ibid.* p. 144. † *Ibid.* pp. 149-151.

imagination into her service; but for the sake of communicating, through every possible means, her own supernatural life. No art is religious, save in so far as it embodies the supernatural life of religion as the principle of the interest it excites, or of the gratification it affords. "If no dangerous topic," says the Reviewer, "is made the subject of its interest, if it be the expression of the religious life of the author, if it make the supernatural its principle and end, the work, though in the form of a novel or fictitious narrative, may be written and read without detriment, nay, with profit, to religion, and that, too, even when its subject is not expressly a sacred subject, and nothing is said directly of or for faith or piety. But all other novels, even though professedly religious, we must regard as dangerous; and the fewer we have of them, and the less they are read, the better." *

Tested by the strict standard thus set up, it may well be supposed that most of the Catholic novels reviewed should be pronounced deficient, if not highly offensive. Of *Grantley Manor*, by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, he says in his Review for October, 1848,† "In a purely literary point of view, one may object, however, a too visible effort at intense writing, a want of calmness and repose, and the attempt to give us a vivid impression of the exquisite beauty of her heroines by dissecting and limning it feature by feature, instead of leaving it to be depicted by the imagination of her readers from the effects it is seen to produce on those within the sphere of its influence,—the common faults of modern novelists, which prove, not their strength, but

* *Ibid.* pp. 243-4. † *Works*, vol. xix, p. 244.

their weakness. There is, also, too much sighing, weeping, and shedding of floods of tears, as well as too much embracing, kissing of hands, foreheads, cheeks, etc., etc. The latter might have been left to the experience or the imagination of the reader, and the former should have been relieved. We are as loath to see literature as beauty in tears, which add to the charm in the one case no more than in the other.

"But we have graver faults to find with *Grantley Manor*. . . . We complain, not that her ladyship has abstained from theology, but that she has not abstained, not that she has *not* introduced religious topics, but that she has introduced them, and in a false light, so as to mislead her readers, unless they happen to be well instructed, and strictly on their guard. She brings religion upon the scene; she makes Catholics and Protestants, as such, actors in her plot; and it has obviously been a leading purpose with her to exhibit the Catholic spirit in its relations with Protestants, and to show the practical effects of Catholicity in forming the minds and hearts, and in prompting and directing the conduct, of those brought up under its influence. . . . She not only introduces the Catholic religion, but she approves in her Catholic characters, from first to last, things which the church abominates, and appears to commend them for things which even her catechism would teach her the church positively forbids. . . . Errors and inaccuracies are less excusable in popular writers than in others, and if her ladyship was not well enough instructed in her religion to be able to avoid them, she had no business to introduce it. Who compelled her to touch upon religious topics, or to

write upon matters of which she knew nothing? If she could not state her religion with accuracy and precision, what right had she to state it at all? It is enough to have our holy religion misrepresented and falsified by its enemies, without having it travestied by its professed friends. No doubt the author thought she was breathing the living soul of Catholicity into her novel, and, while seeking to interest or amuse the public, she would be rendering a service to the cause of Catholic faith and piety. But she reckoned beyond her means. She was too recently from the ranks of heresy. Her Catholicity evidently is not genuine, and her book reminds us of the *Niebelungenlied*, the national epic of the Germans,—a pagan story, conceived in the true pagan spirit, and transmitted, body and soul, from pagan times, but dressed out, by some half-convert of the thirteenth century, in a Christian garb. The Niebelungens are genuine pagans, only they hear mass and bless themselves after the Christian fashion. So is *Grantley Manor* a Protestant tale, conceived and executed in a Protestant spirit, and will find few admirers except among Protestants, and Catholics who, from breathing the atmosphere of heresy and the study of heretical literature, are themselves more than half Protestant. Its Catholics are amiable, cultivated, and respectable Puseyites, who happen to have been born and brought up under *Roman* instead of the *Anglican* 'Branch' of the church."

Some Catholics agreed with Brownson in thinking his standard of Catholic stories and novels none too strict, and Patrick Donohoe, a Catholic publisher of Boston, on reading the plan he suggested, offered a

prize for the best tale written in accordance with it, and appointed the Reviewer as the judge to decide on the merit of the competitors, and to award the prize. Several tales were sent in, some of them of considerable merit, but Brownson awarded the prize to *Willy Burke*, by Mrs. James Sadlier, of Montreal, as being the most in accordance with the plan he had suggested. It was not often that he praised a work written by a woman, for he was not in general partial to feminine literature; but in this case he was obliged to surmount his prejudice, and to pronounce *Willy Burke* an admirable story. Similar praise was given to *John O'Brien*, by Rev. John T. Roddan, and *Loretto*, by George H. Miles. Both Roddan and Miles were contributors to Brownson's Review.

Brownson's views on Temperance, and the total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, were sufficiently set forth in his "Early Life." He continued, after he became a Catholic, to deliver "Temperance Lectures," and his zeal in this cause was none the less earnest because he condemned some fanatical legislation,—in fact, looked not at all to legislation for the cure of intemperance,—and contended that natural rights, such as that of property, were not to be sacrificed or violated under the guise of law. But his sympathy with all rational attempts, by moral suasion, by the aid of public opinion, by force of example, by associations bound by pledge and consecrated by religion, to restrict the ravages of a vice productive of poverty and crime, was well known. There were many persons, in his judgment, that were bound in conscience to total abstinence; those, for instance, whose experience had taught them

it was necessary in their case, and such as by their position could not use wine without leading others to abuse it. The so-called reformed drunkards who turned temperance lecturers he likened to the Acadian exile in Arkansas, who, being scalped by the Indians, tried to persuade his fellow Acadians that they would find it much to their benefit to part with their scalps. There is usually something unbalanced in the mind of a man who makes a hobby of a single idea, especially if he be a priest ordained to teach others all the things which Chfist has commanded. Because a man's father died drunk in a gutter is a very good reason why he should take precaution against a like ending; but it is not a reason for his insisting that all others should be, not merely temperate, but entire abstainers from what he may not be able to use without abusing. These thoughts are suggested by a letter from Rev. C. Chiniquy, who starting as an apostle of temperance, has just terminated his career as an apostate priest. The most reasonable, as it is the most charitable judgment that can be passed in his case is that his hobby, or monomaina, developed into a mental condition where moral responsibility ceased. He wrote:

MON CHER MONSIEUR:—Pardonnez à un de vos plus dévoués amis, comme à un de vos plus sincères admirateurs, de vous prier de vouloir bien arrêter un moment votre noble intelligence sur une question qui me semble digne des méditations du philosophe et du chrétien: *Les sociétés de Tempérance considérées au point de vue Catholique.*

Vous savez, sans doute, que depuis 20 ans un nombre considérable de Canadiens émigrent vers les

Etats-Unis ; ils y forment aujourd'hui une population de près de 150,000 âmes. Ils sont tous Catholiques, mais malheureusement un grand nombre d'entre eux sont les deshoneurs de la religion par leur ivrognerie.

Plusieurs vénérables Evêques des Etats-Unis m'ont demandé d'aller au secours de ces infortunés.

Mais c'est vous, mon cher Monsieur, qui allez décider si je devrai, ou non, aller travailler à enroler sous les bannières de la Tempérance ceux de mes compatriotes que le démon de l'ivrognerie tient dans ses chaînes parmi vous.

Je sais qu'il y est parmi les Catholiques des Etats-Unis des nombreux et justes préjugés contre la Société de Tempérance. Le Protestantisme, en s'emparant de l'idée éminemment chrétienne et Catholique qui a d'abord donné la vie à ces sociétés, semble l'avoir dénaturée et fanfarée. Mais rien de surprenant en cela ;—le Protestantisme, vous l'avez prouvé mieux que personne, souille et profane tout ce qu'il touche. Il était donc tout naturel, qu'en prêchant le sacrifice des boissons enivrantes, les ministres de l'erreur sortissent des bornes du vrai pour pousser les peuples dans la voie de l'erreur et du mensonge.

Mais tandis que le Protestant parcourt les vastes champs de l'absurde et du fanatisme par rapport aux sociétés de Tempérance, est-ce que nous Catholiques, nous ne pourrions pas faire voir au peuple ce qu'il y a de grandeur, de puissance, et de sainteté dans le sacrifice qu'un Catholique fait des boissons lorsqu'il unit ce sacrifice à celui de Jésus-Christ sur la croix, et qu'il se l'impose pour obtenir du ciel la conversion des ivrognes ?

Oui, Monsieur, voilà, il me semble, une question digne de votre plume, et de votre haute intelligence.

Je l'ai vu de mes propres yeux, et vous me l'avez dit vous-même, *l'ivrognerie* des Catholiques, (Clergé comme Laiques) est un des grands obstacles à l'avancement de notre sainte Religion en Amérique. L'usage immoderé des boissons enivrantes est comme un mur que Satan a élevé pour empêcher une foule de personnes d'entrer dans le sein de l'Eglise Catholique.

Abattons ce mur, et nous arracherons à l'enfer des milliers de victimes. Les boissons enivrantes sont pour nous Catholiques ce que sont les sombres nuages qui traversent le ciel dans un join de tempête. Ces nuages obscurcissent les rayons du soleil, et nous dérobent sa splendeur; ainsi les boissons enivrantes dans une foule de localités, obscurcissent et dérobent aux yeux des Protestants la lumière ineffable que le Catholicisme est appelé à répandre sur la terre. C'est au souffle inspiré de votre foi ardente et de votre puissante logique que ces sombres nuages disparaîtront.

Je prends la liberté de vous addresser deux exemplaires du petit travail que j'ai fait sur cette question. Cet ouvrage, quoique bien imparfait, et écrit trop à la hâte, pourra peut-être vous être utile.

Si, comme je l'espère, vous faites disparaître les justes préjugés que les folies du Protestantisme avaient soulevés contre les sociétés de Tempérance, et si vous donnez à ces sociétés la sanction de votre génie, en les montrant *au point de vue Catholique*, alors, j'irai avec bonheur prêcher à mes pauvres compatriotes des Etats-Unis, pour les faire enrôler sous les saintes bannières des sociétés de Tempérance Catholique. Autrement mon travail serait une pure perte.

Si cette lettre n'était pas déjà longue, je vous dirais

avec quel nouveau plaisir je vois arriver tous les trois mois votre admirable Review. Comme les Protestants doivent être en colère contre vous, à chaque coup de massue que vous leur donnez, et comme le Démon doit vous en vouloir pour les nombreuses victimes que vous ne manquez pas de lui arracher tous les jours par vos écrits ! Mais aussi combien les anges de Dieu doivent vous aimer, et comme le Bon Dieu doit vous bénir pour tout le bien que vous faites, avec sa sainte grâce !

Pour moi, il ne se passe un jour sans qu'au saint autel je ne prie le Dieu des miséricordes de vous bénir et de vous conserver longtemps pour l'intérêt de la vérité.

Pardonnez-moi, mon cher Monsieur, cette trop longue lettre, que je vous prie de regarder *comme confidentielle*.

J'ai l'honneur d'être Monsieur, votre respectueux mais tout dévoué ami et admirateur,

C. CHINIQUY, Ptre.

Longueuil, near Montreal, Canada East, 3 Février,
1851.

Brownson's very dear friend, now the Reverend I. T. Hecker, who had joined the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, in Belgium, and had later been employed in giving missions in England, returned to this country in 1851, and at once wrote to inform Brownson.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, St. Alphonsus !

MY DEAREST FRIEND :—It is with greatest pleasure that I announce to you my arrival at New York after a boisterous passage of 52 days via France.

It would be a great gratification to me to speak

with you. I hope some arrangements will be made in such a way that I shall have the opportunity of visiting you at your residence. Perhaps you will be coming on here shortly? If this should be the case, or if you should likely be from home within a short period, will you do me the favor to inform me as early as you can make it convenient?

Will you have the goodness to present my humble respects to your Rt. Rev. Bishop? I beg on my knees his fatherly blessing. Remember me kindly and affectionately to Mrs. Brownson, your dear wife, and to all your children, and such friends as you may chance to meet.

You can easily imagine why I cannot say anything except my arrival and my desire to see and speak with you, for if I began to speak what I have to say, I fear I never should end, and if that, I should find I had said nothing. The experience you have acquired since I have been abroad, and what I have gained, would not only be gratifying, but I feel convinced eminently useful for us both to communicate to each other.

Yours affectionately and truly,

I. TH. HECKER, C. SS. R.

Sat., 22. March, 1851.

German Catholic Church, Third Street, near Avenue A.

To O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Hecker was able to make the desired visit to Chelsea in the summer following. In the meantime he was occupied principally in mission work, as described in a very interesting letter as follows:

Jesus, Mary, Joseph, St. Alphonsus!

LORETTO, May 15, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND.—I cannot help giving you some account of our labors since our arrival and the good Almighty God pleases to work through us poor instruments, knowing your interest in our labors and the pleasure you will take in hearing of the fruits of them.

You have heard of the mission at St. Joseph's. Eight and ten fathers were engaged in it. The mission lasted a fortnight; 6,000 confessions were heard and communions given. The effect of the ceremony of the renewal of the baptismal vows was touching and wonderful. The people suddenly burst into tears, and for a time, the preacher could not make his voice heard for the noise of their babbling. The consolation of the congregation after mission was beyond all expression; and the good pastor of St. Joseph desired nothing so much as to engage us to repeat yearly our mission which of course we couldn't. Tho' it is a rule of ours to make a renewal after a certain lapse of time.

Three days after our mission in New York we were on our way to our mission in the place at Loretto; a village situated in a valley on the top of the Alleghanies. Its site is picturesque and beautiful. It was founded by Prince Gallitzin. He spent his fortune and his life, which was one of great austerity and apostolic, in building up this place. The population of the township is about 2,300, all Catholic excepting three families. The people nearly all Americans by birth. You can from this easily imagine what a fine field we had to work in, when we began the mission. Our greatest difficulty was in the beginning in getting the

people to attend the exercises—both in the morning at seven, and the evening at five. The first few days everything dragged heavily. But at length the people became aroused, and from that moment the mission went on better and better until the close. Those who lived at a great distance took lodgings in the village near by and remained till the mission ended. The disposition of the people was such as to excite our astonishment. The conversions among the hardest and most abandoned sinners were remarkable. You can judge from the fact that every person in the parish made the mission except two, a father, a free-mason, and his son. Between 1,500 and 1,700 confessions were heard and communions given. Ten Protestants were converted, and we left only two Protestants in the village, a man and his wife, the daughter of a parson. Sometimes the scenes were such as to excite laughter. One old sinner had come determined not to be moved. He heard a sermon of one of the fathers, and on coming out he was heard to say, scratching his head: "That preacher beats the devil." And so it was, for he was converted. Another famous dare devil sort of a fellow, the very thought of whom in connection with the confessional or any other act of piety was the most ludicrous of all incongruities, was caught, I afterwards was informed, in our procession carrying a battle axe. Our B. Lady, too, did not fail to show her powerful intercession. One poor woman came with fear of her husband killing her when she returned. He was a drunken wretch. She was told to go and pray to our B. Mother and Queen of Heaven, and behold her husband met her on her way returning and fell on his

knees and begged her pardon, and came and did his duties! But I must describe to you in a few words the closing ceremony, the plantation of the cross. We all assembled in the church on Sunday afternoon at 3:30 to recite the Rosary. The procession then was formed outside of the church. First came the processional cross with the boys, then the men carrying a large cross 41 feet long entwined with garlands of flowers borne by 60 of them; on each side of the cross was a file of soldiers with a band of music; then came 20 or 30 Franciscan brothers of the third order with their cowls; then the clergy: after them the missionaries in their habit, followed by the Sisters of Mercy, and these by the girls and women. The number of the procession was about 4,000. We marched through the village to the site of the cross with music, and there we blessed and erected the cross in a most conspicuous place. The farewell sermon was preached at the foot of the cross and the papal Benediction given. It was a novel scene for America, a famous one for our holy religion, and one which never will be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The cross overlooks the whole village, and when you look that way you will always see some one or more saying their five paters and aves to gain the indulgence of 10,000 years which is attached to the missionary cross.

Sunday next we begin a mission in Hollidaysburg, about 40 miles from here. After that I don't know where we shall be sent, as the Cathedral of Pittsburg is burnt down, for we were to give a mission there. But if I have leisure, I hope to be able to get to see you. Remember me affectionately to your wife and family.

I beg earnestly your and their prayers, I do not forget you in mine.

And believe me yours sincerely and affectionately in the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary, and poor servant in Christ.

I. TH. HECKER, C. SS. R.

To O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Hecker and Brownson had much that interested them to converse about on the occasion of Hecker's visit in the summer of 1851; but the visit is principally memorable for the fact that Brownson, confiding in Hecker's spiritual training in a religious community, gladly received the advice his friend communicated for regulating the interior life. In regard to meditation this advice agreed with Brownson's inclination as perfectly as though it had been expressly invented for that purpose. For years Brownson had been trying, under direction of the Bishop of Boston, to learn the art of pious meditation. The bishop, following the rules of St. Ignatius of Loyola, wanted his penitent to proceed methodically, according to the principles and practice explained in the "Spiritual Exercises." Without presuming to give out any opinion of my own on a matter of this kind, I think I may safely say that since the first half of the sixteenth century, at least, masters of spiritual life have almost unanimously concurred with the founder of the Society of Jesus. On an untrained and speculative mind there may be imposed a restraint that is irksome; but without proper direction in mental prayer, the *magni passus* of the meditator may be *extra viam*. Hecker's advice to his friend was: "So long as one remains in the presence of God during

the time of meditation, it matters little how he passes the time. He may not be aware of doing anything at all *autant mieux*. St. Anthony says that the best prayer is when one does not know that he prays. Follow your *attrait* in prayer; no one ever advanced in spiritual life *contre son attrait*. The best prayer for each one is that in which he succeeds best, from which one draws the most profit, it matters not what sort of prayer it may be called. Let us not be afraid of big names; if God gives us the grace of contemplation, even in the beginning, as he does to some souls, let us not through a false fear reject it, but correspond to his goodness by a generous confidence. If he leaves us in dryness and darkness let us endeavor to be equally willing to suffer, but never give up the exercise of meditation."

Above all, Hecker practised and preached enthusiasm. "We can do no good," he said, "without enthusiasm." By religious enthusiasm he understood "the activity of the passions supernaturalized," and "this is brought about by a thorough discipline—an ascetic life." Hecker also presented his friend with a "discipline,"* and promised him a *cilice*,† for which, he said, he would have to wait till he could get time to make one himself, as the Brothers in his convent did not know how to make them. He probably forgot about the *cilice*; the discipline remained ever unbloody.

* An instrument of penance made of knotted cords.

† A hair-shirt.

CHAPTER IX.

SLAVERY. — THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW. — SEWARD'S HIGHER LAW.—PARKER.—CUBAN EXPEDITION.

FROM the beginning of the year 1845 till the close of 1848, Brownson's study and writing and lecturing had been, if not exclusively theological, at least exclusively directed to religious purposes as their immediate end. The predictions of his old friends that he would turn back to Protestantism in six months were falsified, and people no longer repeated their old nonsense about his "changing with every moon." Since he left Protestantism he had escaped the lunar influences to which he was formerly subjected, and came under those of the Sun of Justice, which are not liable to variation.

Commencing with the year 1849, Brownson proposed to give his Review a more popular character, to enter more largely into the discussion of the great practical questions of the day, and to aim to adapt it to a wider class of readers. He would not, as a Catholic, blink the great political and social questions which were then agitating the public mind both at home and abroad, and these questions received more attention from him thereafter than he had previously given them. It seemed of importance to the community that those questions should be freely and boldly discussed in the light of Catholic faith and morals, and that a Catholic journal that should so discuss them would, if it found here and there an enemy, never want friends.

The time had come when Catholics must begin to make their principles tell on the public sentiment of the country. Heretofore, they had taken their politics from one or another of the parties which divided the country, and had suffered the enemies of their religion to impose their political doctrines on them; but it was time for Catholics to begin to teach the country itself those moral and political doctrines which flow from the teachings of their church. Catholics were at home here, wherever they might have been born; this was their country, and as it was to become thoroughly Catholic, they had a deeper interest in public affairs than any other class of citizens. The sects are only for a day; the church is forever. Brownson cared little how the elections went, for that was a small affair; but he could never, as a Catholic, be indifferent to the moral principles which enter into the laws and shape the public policy of the country.

"I have," he said, "for some time almost entirely neglected my old political readers. This has not been owing to any want of patriotism, nor to any indifference to political questions in their appropriate sphere. But I have had as much as I could do to acquire that acquaintance and familiarity with Catholic theology necessary to conducting with respectability the theological department of my Review. Moreover, I was unwilling to commit myself on great political questions until I had been able to review my old political system in the light of my new faith; for I have always held religion above politics, and that every man is morally and intellectually bound to conform his politics to his religion. This review I have to some extent made, and

have found very little to alter or modify in the principles and doctrines I held when last I addressed my readers on political subjects. My journal will therefore have again its political department, and I shall assume the right of an American citizen to give freely and with entire independence my views on any political topic I may chance to look upon as worth discussing."

Brownson was no advocate of slavery; he was no apologist of the slaveholder; he held that slavery is an evil, and that we should labor to get rid of it; but in such way only as would not lead to a greater evil. Yet he did not concede that it was *malum in se*, or contend that a man by owning slaves necessarily forfeited his Christian character. The church does not sanction slavery, nor does she command its abolition as an act of justice. She commands the slave to be obedient for God's sake, and the master to treat his slave with kindness and humanity, and then remits the whole matter to the operation of Christian charity on the hearts of both the slave and his master. Great as the evil of slavery might be, the evil of disunion, or the disruption of the union of the states, would be incalculably greater, and consequently, however much he was opposed to slavery, and however desirous to remove it, he would not attempt its abolition by any measures incompatible with duty to the Constitution, or with the peace and prosperity of the Union.

That ground was taken in an essay on slavery in the Boston Quarterly Review for April, 1838,* and was uniformly maintained by him. Even in his most radical days he never admitted that it is lawful to do evil

* Works, vol. xv, p. 45.

that good may come; that it is ever permitted to break up a political or social order for the sake of getting rid of an evil which is found to exist under it. His doctrine had always been that evils existing under a social or political order are to be removed by and in consonance with that order, never by its destruction, and, when not so removable, are to be patiently submitted to as a less evil than its destruction. He was never of the no-government sect; never, strictly speaking, a revolutionist; he never held that it can be lawful to resist legitimate authority, or that it is permissible, for the sake of social or political melioration, to break up an established order of things. He never dreamed of the possibility of effecting reforms in contravention of law, or held the false notion that liberty and order are antagonistic. He was never so blinded as not to see that order is the only possible condition of freedom, or that order is impossible without government. If from time to time he emitted opinions that implied the contrary, he never saw or believed they implied it when putting them forth.

He always conceded and maintained slavery to be an evil, and an evil of which it was highly desirable to get rid; but he always insisted that it was one of those social evils that it was lawful to remove only in accordance with fidelity to the Constitution and the federal Union, and that in so far as it could not be removed we were not in any respect to meddle with it. That law which bound him to support the Union, to preserve our political order inviolate, was paramount to any law which could bind him to labor for the emancipation of the slave.

He early declared himself opposed to all extension of slave territory. He held that where slavery already existed by local laws, there it must be left, and the federal government and non-slaveholding states had no right to interfere with it, but were bound to fulfil in regard to it all the stipulations of the Constitution; but the accession of new slave territory, or the extension of slavery into new territories, where it had no legal existence, he steadily resisted as far as could be by constitutional and legal means. Opposed to the Missouri compromise on principle, after it had been agreed to, he thought it binding, if not in law, at least in honor and conscience, on North and South; and when Texas was admitted with that compromise he considered the question as to Texas settled. As to California and New Mexico he saw that slavery could never go there any more than to New England. The climate, soil, and productions were such as to prevent it from being profitable, and there was no need of provisos to keep it out.

The mad schemes of the abolitionists, the illegal and destructive policy which they wished to pursue, hypocritically veiled with a thin gauze of philanthropy for "a man and a brother," as they always termed the black slave, were easily seen through by Brownson; they were essential to distinction, or the attainment of power, place, or notoriety. Only in times of violent agitation, when passion usurps the place of reason, and the community is distracted by lawless confusion could little men and miserable demagogues, the Greeleys, Schoulers, Garrisons, Burleighs, Fosters, Palfreys, Manns, Seward, Chases, Yulees, and Toombses, rise

to importance. What they most feared was the settlement of the question. At the same time (September, 1850) with the admission of California, Congress passed a new fugitive-slave law, which asked for by the South and enacted in its interest, was of little or no practical benefit to the South; but aroused passions and produced controversies and even riots; and greatly embittered the mutual hostility of the two sections of the country. Many even of those who insisted on carrying out the provisions of that law, as required by the Constitution of the United States, and among these was Brownson, regarded the South as having blundered in their demand for an act which could only render the institution of slavery more odious at the North, and eventually tend to overthrow that whole institution.

In the debate on the bill in the Senate, W. H. Seward, one of the New York Senators, refused to vote for it, although necessary to carry out an express Constitutional provision, on the ground that to give up a fugitive slave is contrary to "the higher law," the law of God. The cry of northern abolitionists was thenceforth, The Higher Law! whilst their opponents' papers North and South were filled with sneers at *the higher law* doctrine, and in many instances denied the principle itself. Brownson and Seward had become well acquainted with each other when they both lived in Auburn twenty years earlier, and there were a great many matters on which they thought alike; but their sympathies were strongest on the question of Free-Masons. A few years before the disappearance of William Morgan, Brownson had taken the first three degrees of Masonry; but his belief that that body had

authorized and executed Morgan's murder because he revealed the secrets of the order,—and he was assured by one of the highest Masons in the country that it had done this,—compelled him to look upon the Masonic order in a new light. He had supposed Masonry to be a social, benevolent society, with a good deal of tom-foolery, it is true, but altogether harmless. After the murder he ceased to visit a lodge, and though he did not openly denounce its spirit and practice, he condemned it as un-American and hostile to freedom and the administration of justice. As Seward was the leader of the Anti-Masonic party, in western New York, Brownson did all in his power to push him forward. The anti-Masonic movement carried Seward on, and when his party was merged in the Whig, Seward was elected Governor of New York, the first Whig, I think, to obtain that office. While Governor, Seward refused to surrender on the requisition of the Governor of Virginia some seamen charged with abducting slaves, giving as the ground of his refusal that one state could not force a requisition on another for acts which were not offenses at law in the state upon which the requisition was made, and which, he added, were generally esteemed as humane. Seward's reasoning was good in this case, but ceases to be so in the case of slaves themselves by virtue of the Constitutional provision for their return.*

Both the misapprehension and the denial of a higher law called for explanation and argument, and

* Governor Seward's attempt to settle the school question with Bishop Hughes is creditable to him. The Bishop loudly complained that the text-books in the public schools were hostile to Catholics. Thereupon Seward requested him to make such alterations as would render them acceptable, to which Hughes replied that he had other matters to attend to.

Brownson devoted an article in his Review for January, 1851,* to its consideration. He commented, in the first place, on Seward's inconsistency, which had been already objected to him in the Senate, in holding office under the Constitution and swearing to support it, and at the same time declaring it overruled by the higher law of God.

He agreed entirely with Seward and the abolitionists and free-soilers, as to the fact that there is a higher law than the Constitution. The law of God is supreme, and overrides all human enactments, and every human enactment incompatible with it is null and void from the beginning. To this every Christian is bound to hold even unto death. But who is to decide whether a special civil enactment is or is not repugnant to the law of God? If each individual, as they claimed, had the right to decide for himself, this would place the individual above the state, private judgment above the law, and deprive the government of all authority. Private judgment in religion has ever overthrown all church authority where it is admitted; transferred to civil matters, it would equally put an end to all civil authority, and establish the reign of anarchy or license. If the state is authorized to decide, the state is absolute, and the very principle of the higher law is denied. There is nothing to which Protestants can appeal from the action of government but their private interpretation of the law of God. They are therefore in a dilemma, and must either assert individualism, which is the denial of all government, or civil despotism, which is the grave of all freedom. Catholics,

* Works, vol. xvii., p. 1.

on the contrary, have always a public authority, which, as it is inerrable is never oppressive, to guide and direct them; they alone enjoy the privilege of being at once freemen and loyal subjects.

As to the condition of the slaves, the writer says:

"Conceding the evil of slavery as it exists in this country, it is far from certain that it is an evil that would be mitigated by emancipation, or that emancipation would not be even a greater evil.* The negroes are here, and here they must remain. This is 'a fixed fact.' Taking the American people as they are, and as they are likely to be for some time to come, with their strong Anglo-Saxon pride, Anglo-Saxon prejudices, and Anglo-Saxon devotion to material interests, and hatred or disregard of Christian truth and morals, it is clear to us that the condition of the negro as a slave is far less evil than would be his condition as a freedman. The freed negroes amongst us are as a body, to say the least, no less immoral and heathen than the slaves themselves. They are the pests of our northern cities, especially since they have come under the protection of our philanthropists. With a few honorable exceptions they are a low, degraded, filthy set, steeped in vice and overflowing with crime. Even in our city, almost at the moment we write, they are parading our streets in armed bands, for the avowed purpose of resisting the execution of the laws. Let loose some two or three millions like them, now held in slavery, and there would be no living in the American community. Give them freedom and the right to vote in our

* This was the opinion of many honorable and Christian gentlemen who owned slaves in the South; and how correct they were the history of that section since the civil war sufficiently illustrates.

elections, and the whole country would be at the mercy of the lowest and most worthless of our demagogues."**

As to the fugitive-slave law Catholics have no difficulty; for the law is necessary to secure the fulfilment of an obligation imposed by the Constitution, and as the church has never decided that to restore a fugitive slave is necessarily against the law of God, they are bound to obey the law, and cannot, without resisting God's ordinance and purchasing to themselves damnation, refuse to obey it. St. Paul did more than this law requires, for he seems to have sent Onesimus back before Philemon asked for him.

Various attempts were made to execute the new fugitive-slave law in Boston as soon as it went into effect in the autumn of 1850. The first case was that of one Crafts and his wife; but the officers did not succeed in making the arrest, and it was supposed that the fugitives had been shipped off to England by the abolitionists and free-soilers; in the second case, that of Shadrach, an arrest was made, but the fugitive was rescued from the custody of the United States marshal by a mob, and probably escaped to Canada. In the third case, that of Sims, the fugitive was arrested early in April, 1851. Precautions had been taken against a rescue by a mob, black or white; and it was determined to deliver him up to be returned to his master in Savannah, Ga. This probability threw the abolitionists into a perfect frenzy. They held public meetings, and made inflammatory appeals to passions already excited, and would most likely have attempted another rescue by force, if the vigilance of the police and the military

* Works, vol. xvii., p. 3.

under arms and properly posted had not made it too dangerous to attempt. The friends of the Union and of law began to feel certain that something would be done to wipe out the disgrace which Boston had incurred from the fanatics; and the fanatics were correspondingly mortified and disappointed. This was the condition of matters on the 10th of April, 1851, fast day in Massachusetts, when Theodore Parker, at the Boston Melodeon, delivered a sermon on "The Chief Sins of the People," the chief of which sins was suffering the law to be executed.

In criticising Parker's sermon in his Review for July, 1851,* Brownson disclaims all sympathy with any species of slavery, and professes deep and true devotion to freedom; hence he has no quarrel with the free-soilers for being hostile to slavery. He informs Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Gerritt Smith, William Lloyd Garrison, Robert Rantoul, and Abby Folsom, that the love of freedom and hatred of slavery did not come into the world with them, and would suffer no great diminution if those choice spirits were to die and leave no successors. He opposes them, not for opposing slavery, but for the principles and methods by which they oppose it. Parker, he says, "plainly counsels resistance to the laws, downright treason, and civil war,—only not just yet. The hour is not yet come, and armed resistance might be premature, because just now it might be unsuccessful. The traitorous intention, the traitorous resolution, is manifest, is avowed, is even gloried in, and nothing is wanting to the overt attempt to carry it into execution but a fair

* "The Fugitive Slave Law," Works, vol. xvii., p. 17

prospect of success. And what is of a more serious consequence, the party of which this fierce disclaimer is an accredited organ, is in power in this state and has the governor and the majority of the representatives in both houses of Congress. It rules or misrules the great state of Ohio; it is numerous in Pennsylvania, almost the majority in New York, triumphant in Vermont, and we can but just *not* say, also in New Hampshire. Its principles are entertained by men who do not profess allegiance to the party. Nearly every member of Congress from this state, with the exception of Mr. Appleton, of this city, is in reality as much of a free-soiler as Horace Mann or Robert Rantoul. Mr. Winthrop, the Whig candidate for the Senate, was not a whit sounder than Mr. Sumner, his successful free-soil competitor, and would have made a far more dangerous Senator. The party has absorbed in its bosom all the separate fanaticisms of the free states; and all who, like ourselves, have watched its growth since 1831, are well aware that it has been steadily advancing, that it has never lost an inch of ground once gained, and that it has never for a moment met with a serious check. It is as certain as anything human can be, that, if it is not speedily resisted, and resisted as it never yet has been, it will in a short time possess the power in nearly all the free states, and consequently in the Union itself.

"We assure the public,—and it is the point we wish particularly to impress upon our readers,—that the abolition of negro slavery is only an incident in free-soilism. Neither the free-soilers nor we can foresee where they would stop. Combining as they do in one

all the several classes of fanatics in the country, and being the party opposed to law, to constitutions and governments, certain it is they would not stop so long as there remained a single safeguard for individual freedom, or a single institution capable of imposing the least restraint upon lawless and despotic will. No doubt there are honest, but deceived individuals in the party who will not go all lengths with it; but they will be impotent to restrain it, and the party itself, augmenting its forces as it marches, will on whithersoever its licentious and despotic principles lead, unless effectually resisted by the sounder part of the community, or by the merciful interposition of divine Providence.

"The essential principle of the free-soil party, that which gives it so terrible a vitality, is not, we repeat, exclusively or mainly opposition to slavery. Half unknown to itself, it is a party organized against law in all its forms, against all principles and maxims of the past, and all the religious, moral, social, and political institutions of the present. It is a party formed against the common reason, common sense, and common interests of mankind. With the cant of religion and morality on their lips, its leaders are, almost to a man, infidels and blasphemers, as well as traitors and disorganizers. They carry their zeal for reversing so far as to seek to reverse the natural relation of the sexes, to dishonor woman by making her the head, and sending her to the legislature, the cabinet, or into the field to command our armies, and compelling man to remain at home, and nurse the children, wash the dishes, make the beds, and sweep the house. Already are their women assuming the male attire, and begin-

ning to appear in our streets and assemblies dressed out in full *Bloomer* costume; and little remains for the men but to don the petticoat and draw the veil over their faces.

"Let no man accuse us of exaggeration. We do not exaggerate in the least, and are only giving our readers a sober statement of the spirit and tendency of the great movement party of our times,—red-republicans and socialists in France, Italy, and Germany, *progresistas* in Spain, radicals in England, free-soilers and abolitionists, just now in the United States,—destructives everywhere, borne forward by the under-current of nearly all modern societies, glorified by all the popular literature of the age, defended by the newspaper press generally, and with us in the free states already able to blast the reputation of almost every public man who ventures to assail them. We speak of a party which we have long known, and which, we *grieve* to say, we ourselves, when we had more influence with our countrymen than we can ever hope to have again, supported, under more than one of its aspects, with a zeal and an energy worthy of a better cause. Alas! men are often powerful to do evil, but impotent to repair it. Now that our eyes are open, and we are able to see the mischief we did, we have no power to undo it, and if we are permitted to speak out freely and boldly, as we do against the party, it is because that party can afford to let us say what we please. No voice raised against it seems to be any longer heeded, and if a man of standing and weight in the community assails it under one of its aspects, he must save himself and friends by giving it a new impetus under another, as we see in the case of

Mr. Webster, who apparently writes his letter to the Chevalier Hülsemann to atone for his speech in the Senate Chamber on the 7th of March, 1850. He appears to have felt that the only way in which he could obtain a popularity for the administration, to balance the popularity lost by its adhesion to the compromise measures, was to express sympathy with radicalism and revolutionism abroad. In this he may have judged patriotically, if not wisely and justly, for to sympathize with foreign radicalism is less dangerous to us for the moment, than to sympathize with domestic radicalism. Now it is the progress and triumph of this wild radical party that the South really dread. They see it under the free-soil and abolition aspect, but also, though less clearly, perhaps, under other aspects, and they see that they have everything to fear, and nothing to hope from it. Hence, the firmness with which they insist,—and we too ought to insist, for we are as deeply interested as they,—on the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law; for if the party cannot be successfully resisted on this law, it is idle to think of resisting it at all. We and all the members of the Union are then without protection, and at the mercy of the worst and most frightful despotism, under the name of liberty, that it is possible to conceive.”*

The Reviewer then proves against Parker that the law which he opposes is not unjust, but, as Chief Justice Shaw, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, said, in expressing the unanimous opinion of the Court, not only constitutional, but necessary, and one which Congress was bound to pass. In discussing the duty of

*Works, vol. xvii., pp. 21-27.

the state to intervene—for the question could not be as to its right to intervene—Brownson expresses an opinion on the intervention, in matters which do not concern them, of the American people, which was always a great blot on our national character, and time has been far from effacing. He said: "There may be cases when we are free to intervene, and others when we are bound to intervene; but the former are not numerous, and the latter are very rare. The experience of our Puritan ancestors proves this very clearly as to individuals, and that nothing is worse than to make every individual in a community the guardian of the morals of every other individual. It leads every one to mind every one's business but his own, establishes a system of universal espionage, and sacrifices all individual freedom and independence. It destroys all sense of individual responsibility, precludes all firmness and manliness of character, and superinduces the general habit of consulting, not what is true, what is right, what is duty, but what is popular, or rather, what will escape the censure of one's neighbors. Whoever knows what our society was under the strict Puritan regimen knows well how fatal to virtue is the system. The New Englander of to-day bears but too many traces of the system, which makes him but too often a hypocrite at home or in public, and somewhat of a rowdy in private or abroad. The whole system out of which free-soilism undeniably springs, is false, of immoral tendency, and founded on a misapprehension of the nature of man and the government of God. We must leave scope for individual freedom; we must trust something to individual responsibility, and place our

main reliance on the principles we early instil into individuals, the religious influences with which we surround them, and the workings of their own consciences. It will not do to keep them always in leading-strings, or under lock and ward. If we do, we shall never have any strong or masculine virtue; never have any men on whom in the hour of temptation and trial we can rely. No doubt, outbreaks of passion, of wild and exuberant spirits, there will be; no doubt, disorders will occur, scenes of personal violence will be exhibited, scandals will be given; but these things, however much to be deplored, no human foresight or power can prevent, and we must make up our minds to bear with them. To attempt, as Calvin did in Geneva, and as our fathers did in New England, to guard against them by an all-pervading espionage and minute legislation, descending even to prescribe the fashion of cutting the hair, only substitutes a darker and more fatal class of vices and crimes, such as can be practised in solitude or carried on in secret. We must bear with them,—knowing that, if there is less virtue than we wish, what virtue there is will be genuine, and able to abide the test.”*

Free-soilers and abolitionists assumed that the end justifies the means. Proposing a lawful end, the emancipation of the negro slaves in the United States,—they rightly asserted that negroes are men and brothers, sprung from the same original stock, redeemed by the same sacrifice, as the whites, and equally endowed with immortal souls to be saved or damned; that all men, under the law of nature, are born free, and slavery

* *Ubi Supra*, pp. 30-31.

is the normal condition of no man or race of men. But from this it by no means follows that no man, in any circumstances whatever, can have a good title to the bodily services of another; for this would be to deny the father's property in the services of his child, the master's in those of the apprentice, and might be extended to property in the services of soldiers, sailors, and others who serve for hire. If you say that in the last class of instances the property is founded on a contract for hire, it may be argued that services rendered the slave by the master, benefits conferred upon him, care taken of him in his infancy, maintaining him, nursing him in sickness, and providing for him in old age are valuable considerations on which to imply a contract sustaining the master's title.

At any rate, where the state authorizes slavery, or recognizes property in slaves, the master has a title whatever it be against the slave, that is good against the state. If the public has by its laws permitted slavery, recognized the master's title as good, it cannot in justice abolish it without full indemnification. If the state has legalized a wrong, it may undoubtedly undo it—is even bound to do so, but not at the expense of the individual citizen. The abolitionist, therefore, who called upon the public authorities to emancipate the slaves without just compensation to the masters, called upon it to commit gross injustice; and he at the same time contended that compensation would itself be a wrong, as it would recognize the title of the master.

The worst thing about free-soilism or abolitionism, and what Brownson most execrated in it, was that it was only a form of the miserable fanaticism, calling

itself philanthropy, and which was indulged until it became unmanageable. This moral pestilence has infected our whole society and turned a large portion of our citizens into madmen. It has destroyed our judgments, our moral life. It rages in the legislature and in the halls of justice, and spits its venom from pulpit and press, overawing the well disposed, browbeating into silence the sober-minded, and making even the brave quail before it. The men who cannot be reformed by the doctrines, sacraments, discipline, and worship of the church, are not going to be reformed by moral-reform societies, temperance societies, state education, or any other of the methods the philanthropy of the age suggests. "Even your temperance societies," says Brownson, "seldom do more than expel one vice by introducing another, and not always a lesser vice. Save so far as you can make a man a good Christian, you cannot eradicate a single vice from his heart, except by planting another in its place. The drunkard leaves off drinking, but takes to chewing opium, or becomes sober only to become avaricious, simply exchanging inebriety for avarice. You do not get rid of the hydra of evil by lopping off one of its many heads, nor does the lopping off of one head prepare the way for lopping off another. You must drug the monster himself, and destroy his inward vitality, which nothing but the grace of God through the sacraments of the church can do. Almighty God founded his church for the express purpose of destroying evil, of delivering men from vice, sin, and iniquity, and it is no unreasonable stretch of modesty to doubt our ability to add anything to its perfection, or to its efficiency. He knew at least as

well as we what was needed, and what would answer the purpose; he was as well disposed as we to cure the vices of society; and it would seem to be no more than reasonable for us to be contented with his work, and to rely on it as the only efficient means of reform, and of good, whether social or individual."

Closely allied with the question of slavery and its abolition, was the desire on the part of many southern advocates of slavery and its extension for the acquisition of the island of Cuba. Possession of this island had long been coveted by a considerable portion of our population, who had induced or aided Cubans to revolt from Spain. They hoped to acquire Cuba as they had acquired Texas, and accordingly they set on foot within our territory a military expedition to assist the pretended Cuban patriots to revolutionize the island. The expedition commanded by Narciso Lopez was repulsed from Cardenas, and effected its escape to the United States, to return when it should become more powerful. Politicians proclaimed the "manifest destiny" of this country to annex all neighboring territory not owned by a great power. The press generally favored the movement, or if they opposed it, they did so because of their free-soil or pro-slavery proclivities. In these circumstances, Brownson wrote and published in his Review for October, 1850, an article on the "Cuban Expedition,"* in which he denounced it on the ground of injustice to Spain, of its being a violation of the laws of nations, the faith of treaties, the rights of sovereignty, and the rights of property. He told the American people that they cannot hold and act on principles which

* Works. vol. xvi, p. 272.

justify the expedition without placing themselves out of the pale of civilized nations, and authorizing the civilized world to treat them as a nest of pirates, and to make war on them as the common foe of mankind.

Mrs. Anita George, the accomplished author of "The Queens of Spain," expressed her satisfaction in a note which is inserted here:

DEAR SIR:—During my late visit to New York, the October number of your Review was handed to me by my esteemed friend and countryman, Señor de San Martin. The perusal of the article on the "Cuban Expedition" immediately inspired the wish that I might be permitted to express *viva voce* to the writer the feelings of enthusiastic admiration and fervent gratitude it had awakened in me. This manifestation of approbation from one among the many, and that one a *woman*, will be of little moment to you, but it will be exceedingly gratifying to me to have an opportunity of giving utterance to sentiments that are shared by those whose good opinion is of far more importance. The courage you have displayed in exhibiting in their true light the tenets that, if acted upon, would stamp eternal disgrace on the American name, is deserving the highest praise, and the generous and frank vindication of the aspersed character of my countrymen secures you the esteem and respect of the wise and good of all nations. Had honesty, honor, justice, and truth many such champions, it were well for humanity. But alas! in this case, and especially in this country, the voice of the majority—ever that of ignorance and error—is, I fear, adverse to reason and right, and your eloquence becomes a veritable heroism.

With sentiments of the highest regard, I remain respectfully your obedient servant,

ANITA GEORGE.

Boston, Mass., 3 Dover St.

Jan. 5, 1851.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Chelsea.

In the summer of 1851, Lopez sailed in command of a new expedition, which effected a landing in Cuba, where, after several engagements with detachments of Spanish troops, in which several Spanish officers and soldiers lost their lives, they were defeated, and those not killed were taken prisoners.

While the contest with the invaders continued, Colonel Crittenden, son of the Kentucky Senator of that name, and his party of fifty men, apparently attempting to effect their escape from the island were captured by a Spanish war-steamer, and on their confession that they had formed part of the gang that had landed and had shared in their acts, they were very properly executed. When the news of the execution reached the Gulf States, atrocious outrages were committed on Spaniards and Spanish property, at New Orleans, Key West, and Mobile.

Soon afterwards the Spanish minister to the United States addressed the following communication to Brownson :

Private. NEW YORK, 4th September, 1851.

DEAR SIR:—It has been my most anxious desire, for some time past, to go to Boston for a few days in order to see you—not only that I might have the pleasure of making your acquaintance, but also that I might

have had an opportunity of conversing with you on the present state of affairs in regard to Cuba. My occupations, however, make this impossible, and it is therefore by writing only that I can make you the following request. I am extremely desirous that you should consent to write for the ensuing month an article upon the invasion of Cuba by the American pirates or patriots, and the present state of things in this country as connected with these piratical attempts—such as the excesses committed in New Orleans,—the forcible entry of the mob into our Consul's house, the robbery and destruction of his important papers,—the tearing down of the Spanish *cafés*—furniture destroyed—and the inmates barely escaping with their lives. Of all this I could send you the official accounts, but you have probably seen them in the public papers.

With regard to the insults said to have been committed in Havana upon the dead bodies of the fifty men who were shot, they are *wholly* without foundation, and are invented by those who hesitate at no falsehood in order to deceive the infatuated adventurers whom they induce to join them. *Had* the story been true, it would have proved what they are so anxious to conceal, the fury of the mob against those who thus wantonly attack a quiet and peaceful country.

Should it be consistent with your opinion and principles to write an article of this nature, I would venture merely a few remarks—which you might perhaps, to a certain extent, introduce. For instance—when a state cannot control her citizens and prevent them from repeatedly invading a friendly country, what is the remedy prescribed by the law of nations?

(according to Wheaton—to all who have written on the subject.) Is it not that the state to which the aggressors belong is obliged to pay to the injured state the expenses caused in its defense, and the damages occasioned by their disobedient subjects?

Again, in a confederation of states, if one of the states is injured by a foreign power, do not all of them unite to avenge the wrong? If South Carolina were invaded, would not the whole Union go to her rescue? And when the South is in open war against Cuba, is not *pro contra* all the Union obliged to pay for the wrongs inflicted upon a nation at peace with the Union? —or will it henceforth become the law of nations in regard to the United States—to make war on the aggressive state, and nevertheless to preserve peace with the rest of the Union?

Whilst I merely throw out these hints, I am well aware that your own views and your own knowledge of the subject require no assistance from me. Still, if you should consider it advisable that we should converse together upon the subject, previous to the publication of the article, it would give me great pleasure to see you here (No. 65 Broadway) as for the present, business detains me here in New York.

But at all events I trust that you will be kind enough to answer me as soon as convenient, and beg you to believe in the high esteem with which I remain sincerely yours,

A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

Brownson received this letter just as his youngest son, the only child born since he had been a Catholic, was taken from this world in the sixth year of his age.

The boy was one whose loss was deeply lamented by the family, and naturally Brownson's reply to Calderon was delayed for some days. As the Review for October, however, was already in the hands of the printers, it was too late for the proposed article to be prepared for that number. It was published in January following.* Calderon's next letter was this:

NEWPORT, 19th Sept., 1851.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you very much for your letter, and truly sympathize with you in your domestic affliction. A very much smaller calamity than that which you have experienced would more than excuse you had you not answered me for a much longer period.

I do not think the delay of any importance. Perhaps even the article may then be more comprehensive, and you will have time to render it more worthy of your high reputation; presenting in a true light, which will at least be appreciated by all honest men, the great moral question, as well as that of the law of nations, which is therein involved.

As to our meeting, it would give us great pleasure to receive you here at any time, should you have leisure to come and spend a few days with us. But, otherwise, as soon as my health and occupations permit me, I shall endeavor to go to Boston myself, and shall then have the pleasure of calling to see you.

Although my experience of republics has by no means done away with my prejudices against that form of government, or induced me to change my mind as to the political system in which I was born, I think as far as regards *simplicity and plain dealing*, you will find me

* Piratical Expeditions against Cuba, Works, vol. xvi. p. 298.

quite as good a republican and quite as plain a man as you are yourself,—and of this I trust, my dear sir, to convince you if I have the good fortune of making with you the more intimate and personal acquaintance which I wish for.

Meantime, I beg you to believe me, with great esteem,

Very truly yours,

A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

The article was not yet written when Calderon sent the following statement of his case.

10th November, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just received your letter of the 3rd instant, and although my mind is at this moment as painfully anxious as at any moment of my agitated life, I hasten to answer it.

I regret much to hear that you have been suffering in your health, and hope you have quite recovered. Believe me, dear sir, that the more I read your writings, and the more I know of you, the more sincerely I desire to make your acquaintance.

(*Private*).—This is perhaps nearer at hand than you imagine—from causes which from the moral principles which pervade your works you would hardly dream of.

In the name of my government, of the laws of nations, and of all known moral laws, I am asking in the most courteous, but firm manner, what? That reparation should be made to our flag, dragged through the mud and publicly burnt, with every mark of contempt, in New Orleans,—also to sixty-seven poor shipwrecked men, women and children, who were nearly

lynched at Mobile, because they were Spaniards—and saved from death with much risk and expense,—also indemnification to those unarmed and unoffending Spanish subjects, whose shops were broken into, plundered, and destroyed, at Key West.

And what reparation do I ask? That a few guns shall be fired upon the return of the consul, either to him or to the Spanish flag—as a public demonstration of regret on the part of this government for the outrages committed by an American mob—and that a handful of dollars shall be decreed for the relief of those destitute Spaniards whose only crime was that they were the countrymen of those noble souls who lost their lives in defending their homes invaded without any provocation!

And the demigod* is endeavoring to *frown* me, or to persuade me into submission. A prompt reparation would have shown him to be a just, high-minded, moral statesman. The most fatal results would have been instantly and wisely prevented by his doing so—but he prefers to pander to the popular injustice and to the gross and foolish pride of the mob,—and to lose the reputation which he enjoys all over the world, for the sake of a few votes—which, after all, he will not even have, through this means, at least.

Perhaps I am uncharitable; perhaps he is actuated by higher motives—but such is my opinion; and one thing is certain—if the Spanish consul is not received with proper public demonstrations, even were I willing, I *cannot continue* my diplomatic functions in this country.

* Daniel Webster, Secretary of State.

God only knows, my dear sir, the sincerity with which I pray, and as a friend beg you to pray for me, to be spared the sorrow of withdrawing from this country *on this account*. And as I speak to you in confidence, almost as in *confession*, I can assure you that my sorrow is only caused by the misery which may result from this step to my fellow-beings. In a worldly point of view, my departure would be beneficial to me. I should acquire popularity with the party which now accuses me loudly of submitting to American influence. I should, perhaps, be rewarded, sooner or later, for having made what would be considered a personal sacrifice (and it would, in fact, be a sacrifice). But I look to another source of approbation, and I grieve to be the instrument, however innocent, of a fatal rupture.

But to the point. What I would say is this: What is prescribed by the law of nations?—the law of God? Not to injure your unoffending neighbor. When you cannot prevent this, and your citizens or subjects do so to a friendly people even while you are assuring that people that they have no cause to be alarmed—what is your duty, besides punishing the offenders? Certainly, to say to the offended power, against whom you have no cause of complaint, "I regret what my subjects or fellow-citizens have done." If your servants or children had injured the property of your neighbor, you would express this regret even after punishing those who had so offended. You would endeavor to heal the wounded feelings of your neighbor—to meet him in a friendly spirit—to express in the presence of other neighbors your regret for the bad

conduct of your family or dependents. The law of nations and of morality is the same in this. The U. S. have to offer ample compensation to the robbed and insulted Spaniards—that is easy enough—and for this government, a mere trifle.

But our flag has been dragged through the mud—burnt in the public square with every mark of brutal contempt that could be devised. Our consul's office, in spite of treaty stipulations and of his exequatur, has been broken into—his papers, archives, and personal property plundered—and a mischievous use made of his official correspondence.—That (this government may say) we cannot repair.—It is true; but you may disavow it—and this in the manner usual amongst nations—Let some twenty-one guns be fired when the insulted flag is hoisted.—To this it will be replied that American dignity forbids it.—Well, then—let the same consul, or another, be sent—and when he arrives, let one of the federal authorities go on board the ship, and welcome him,—and then from the fort, from a ship, or from the remotest mountain, if they prefer it, let twenty-one guns be fired—and then the breach is healed—we are friends once more—confidence is restored—and Spain ceases to entertain the irritating conviction that you not only conspire to rob her, but that you slight and despise her, and intend to let the world know your contempt for her. If you do so, remember that such was Napoleon's mistake. Remember that *una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*. Believe that Heaven will not permit without punishment such a wrong to be done to a nation. Rob and insult her without provocation, even while she permits your citizens to hold property, admits

your ships, and (thank God, we are Catholics) while her soldiers divide their bread with you, support you, cure your wounds, and look upon you as brothers, the moment you no longer injure them. Observe the remarkable firmness displayed by the Spanish authorities in Cuba and how they find means of preventing your citizens from being molested by a populace driven almost to madness by the news of the insults offered to their flag—their consul—their fellow-citizens, and (to your shame be it spoken!) even to poor ship-wrecked women and children.

The life of one of our most chivalrous youths has been taken by your people—and many mothers, wives, and children are left destitute and miserable for the rest of their lives, victims to the *revolvers* of your moral, freedom-loving, high-spirited youths!

Our Spanish soldiers go to church. There they honor their dead, there they say those *paters* and *aves* at which you laugh. There they obtain from God and his Holy Mother the grace of fortitude, and they forgive, they are Catholic in spite of you—who would make them Anglo-Saxon Unitarians, or Nothingarians.

And the demigod does not see, my good friend, that in doing prompt, and ample justice, he would gain fame, and would make true liberty beloved, and give a rank amongst moral nations to this America, which the world admits to be very great and wealthy—but which almost all honest and virtuous people are beginning to regard as an aggregation of the most dissolving passions and errors.

Meanwhile, I struggle with the man—and although I hope that God will assist me in the end, without great

success. I used to admire him, and like him, as I do almost all Bostonians. He has used all means to shake my resolution, but without avail, and by the assistance of Heaven, I shall keep firm and persevere, trusting that, should I be forced to suspend my diplomatic relations here, the natural consequences of that step will be brought about by no rashness of mine, and will not weigh upon my conscience.

Were I gifted with genius, I would in the article in question—

i. Establish the principle of the law of nations, supported by Ward, Vattel, Wildeman, (*Institution of international law*, lib. 2, chap. 1st, of the state of war)—a late work.

"The invasion of territory, or other violent aggression (such as that of New Orleans, Mobile, and Key West), or the gathering of forces with the manifest purpose of aggression, or the violation of any legal right (the consul's *exequatur*), the *breach* of any legal duty, *followed by the refusal of satisfaction*, is lawful ground for war."

I would maintain on moral and religious principles, that this is the case. I would inculcate this doctrine—bring some cases to its support—and ask them, moreover, what the United States would do, if the American consul, American citizens, American flag, had been treated in Habana as ours have been treated in New Orleans, Key West, and Mobile. When I have put this question to the honest Fillmore, he has always answered, "We should have asked (demanded, he might have said) reparation and compensation." When I have put the same question to Mr. Webster, his answer

was, "I do not know what we should have done, or would do."

I would quote the Article 6th of our Treaty of 1795, also the Article 10th of the same, and then ask all the most sophistic lawyers in the world, how it is possible, in the face of these articles, to refuse satisfaction and reparation, how it is possible that the property of the vessel Fernando 7°, on which these poor shipwrecked people were, is not restored although part of it consisted in military accoutrements, and is in the possession of American officers.

Mme. Calderon joins me in every expression of esteem and regard with which I am sincerely your friend,

A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

I have dictated the above. I hope you will pardon me for not copying it, I have so much to do. Excuse whatever you do not find correct or so well expressed as you will express it.

After discussing the case of the Cuban expedition in its bearings, and showing the violation of international and natural law, Brownson arraigns the president and his secretary of state for the former's message to congress, and the latter's official correspondence, for the enunciation of principles which justify such expeditions. Our government and people in their own minds, held it lawful for whoever willed, to make war on monarchical governments. Those who influenced public affairs and gave tone and character to the country, were ingenious, skilful, energetic; but destitute of all sense of religion or morality, lawless, grasping, vicious; and those who possessed the natural virtues were without influence in public affairs.

The United States government was the more cautious in its proceedings in this affair, as there were more than 160 prisoners, most, if not all, American citizens, captured in Cuba and carried to Spain, where it was understood they were to be sent to the mines. This government ordered the salute to the Spanish flag; the Queen of Spain pardoned the prisoners, as Calderon had the satisfaction of informing the secretary in January, 1852. He wrote soon after to Brownson:

WASHINGTON, 31st Jan'y., 1852.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am just arrived from a journey to Albany to beg the pardon of one of my countrymen who was to be hanged just when the news of the pardon by my queen had been spread all over the land. I have obtained a reprieve, and hope to succeed after many prayers, in obtaining a pardon.

That circumstance, united to an operation which I have had performed in my mouth, has prevented me to write to you sooner. Your article I did not read before. I thank you for it. I wish only it had appeared three months sooner. But good, sound principles are of all time.

I expected to go to Boston, but had no time. I wish very much to make your acquaintance.

With renewed thanks, I remain, Dear Sir, very truly yours,

A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

A letter on this matter written by Mrs. Calderon contains much worth preserving both in this connection and for its own sake:

JACKSON HILL (Near Washington), 1st August.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Calderon had the pleasure of receiving yesterday a letter from Mr. Reggio, enclosing a note from yourself, upon the subject of his request to you—and as he is even more than usually occupied, being obliged to go to town every day upon important business, he has desired me to write to you in his name—and to express his great satisfaction and the obligation he is under to you for consenting to write the article in question, convinced as he is that no one could do it equal justice.

Were Calderon fortunate enough to be *near* you, nothing would be easier than to place all the despatches relative to the affair at your disposal, but being voluminous and belonging to the archives of the Legation, he cannot, of course, send them away. In the correspondence brought before Congress very few of his notes were made public; the rest were kept back.

To remedy this difficulty as much as possible, Calderon thinks he may venture in strict confidence to send you a translation of the last dispatch received from his government, which will give you the views taken by Spain upon the subject. As the despatch is private, he, of course, sends it to you very confidentially and with the request that you will either return or destroy it, when you have made what use you think proper of it. As it is very long, I am afraid it will take me some little time to translate, which will make this answer later of reaching you than it otherwise ought.

Next, as *La Crónica*, a Spanish paper published in New York, has been constantly in the habit of publishing a correct account of these transactions as they

occurred; Calderon will immediately write to the editor, requesting him to collect all the newspapers relating to the affair, and to forward them to you. The *Courrier des Etas-Unis* has also stated the facts very correctly, and added some very good reflections upon them.

Without pretending to give you an outline of his views upon the subject, certain of the correct judgment which you will form upon it, Calderon would merely take the liberty of remarking that there are some points on which he thinks you will naturally insist, and that had he the time or the talent necessary for writing such an article, he would especially express his indignation at that desire utterly destructive of all morality, and utterly contrary to every maxim of religion, of taking possession of the property of others, with or without pretext, and at that thirst for gold which seems to amount to a mania, and which must be satisfied at any cost. He would speak of the *impunity* of the pirates who attacked Cardenas, and who after committing murder and robbery, are now insolently boasting of their crimes, and openly declaring their intentions of forming another expedition as soon as possible, and their assurances that they are now making every preparation for it, and this in public, at the seat of government, and in the presence of Senators, proving that they are well aware of the state of public feeling in this country; of the boldness with which the prisoners lately released from Contoy, are now declaring that the invasion of Cuba was their sole object; of the association in their crimes, on the part of the governors of states, and men in office in this country; proved by the facilities afforded to these pirates in

setting off upon their lawless expedition, and by their impunity on their return; and of that peryading love of money, proved in the condemnation of the *Creole* only because it *can be sold*, and is therefore profitable.

He would remark upon the diabolic hypocrisy with which Lopez, Gonzalez, and other runaways from justice, conceal their ambitious designs and love of plunder, under a pretended love of liberty, in which name they violate every human and divine law,—of the tendency which all this has to throw discredit in every part of the civilized world, upon the institutions of this country,—of the hatred thus excited against this nation, in Habana and Spain,—the ruin of so many families, the crimes and bloodshed which must be the result of these piratical invasions, terminate how they may,—commerce destroyed,—that beautiful island laid waste, and made a theatre of robbery, murder, and every vile passion.

So far, Calderon has used every effort, so far as the limits of his duty have permitted, to calm the irritation of all parties, and has endeavored to make morality and religion the basis of his representations, rather than mere political expediency, yet even the praises which have been indiscreetly given him here, have been injurious to him at home, as tending to make them fear that he may have submitted to too much from this government.

He desires me to add that if he had the good fortune to be personally acquainted with you, and if you were aware how heartily he acknowledges your superiority to himself as a writer, he would not fear your misconstruing his motives, and would venture to

request you to send him a copy of your article before it is published, in case he might be able to point out any fact which might escape you, or correct any date which might not be exact. He is convinced that this article will be republished throughout the world, and everywhere read with interest; that it is one which will greatly serve the cause of morality, which will console more than one good man now afflicted by the actual state of society, and which may, perhaps, rescue from the path of perdition some young Americans led astray by bad example and false principles, and that by it the world will see that there are men in America who value virtue more than gold or conquest, and above all have the courage to confess it.

If you could point out any other way in which Mr. de Calderon might be useful to you in regard to this article, it would give him the greatest pleasure. Ever since he has become acquainted with your Review, he has looked forward with impatience for each succeeding number, and always calls you the *Balmes* of America. Will you allow me, dear sir, to express my own pleasure in being permitted to make acquaintance with you, even through the medium of correspondence? As a Catholic and a convert, I feel a daily increasing interest in the welfare of my adopted country, the most Catholic country on the face of the globe, and I cannot help thinking that amongst the motives which have made the Mexican war and the invasion of Cuba popular, there is mixed up a vague antipathy to the Catholic religion, the false idea that Catholicism and liberty are incompatible, and probably amongst the worst of the adventurers a lurking notion of the riches to be found in the churches and religious houses.

But I shall not trespass longer upon your time,
and begging you to remember me respectfully to the
Bishop, I remain with Mr. Calderon's best regards,

Yours truly and respectfully,

FANNY CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

In his next visit to Washington, Brownson saw much of the Calderons; and he came to regard the Spanish minister as a man of more than common ability and character, and to entertain a high esteem and friendship for him; the more so that on most subjects there was great conformity of opinion and feeling on both their parts.

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC OF 1848.—MONTALEMENT.

THE affairs of Europe had been more prominently discussed in Brownson's Review since the upheaval of 1848 than before that period, and those of France, in importance in themselves, and in their influence on the whole Christain world, merited the first place. In an article published in July, 1851, on *The French Republic*,* the Editor asserts some doctrines which even to-day are worthy of the consideration of a large class of French statesmen and their followers, who, because they cannot have what they would, will not have what they might. They seem to confound often the administration of the government with its constitution. Granting all they say against the present and preceding administrations of the republic of '70, to be true, as it

* Works, vol. xvi, p. 252.

undoubtedly is, the question naturally arises, whose fault is it that it is so? France, the oldest son of the church, the most Christian nation, is not an infidel country, nor are the majority of her people freemasons; not even one is in five thousand. The French, like all Celtic nations, seem to regard loyalty as due to the person, not to the office; whereas the German peoples, including the old Franks, obeyed the king they had chosen to lead them in war; but in the intervals of peace, were masters of their own persons and property. No king, pope, or priest can have by the law of nature, or by the Christian law, any dominion over any man, except vicariously, as the representative of God, and the trustee of power. "Ministers may be variously appointed," says the writer, * according to the various constitutions of different countries; they may obtain office hereditarily, or by popular election; but always their ultimate right to govern derives from God, and they hold it only as his delegates. They are therefore bound to exercise it according to his will, that is, according to the laws of eternal justice. This is what we mean by the *jus divinum*, and holding this, we hold that whoso resists government in the discharge of its legal functions resists the ordinance of God, and purchases to himself damnation.

"But God authorizes government and invests it with the right to govern for the public good, not for the private good of the governors, and hence power is a trust, and therefor amissible. It may be forfeited, as any other trust, for it may be abused, and it is abused, whenever it is exercised for a private end, in opposition

**Ib.* p. 254.

to the public good. It may be lost, also, without the particular fault of its depositaries, by such changes in human affairs as render it impracticable or impossible for them to continue to exercise it compatibly with the peace and welfare of the public, or so as to secure the ends for which government is instituted. In France, the old public order has, by successive revolutions, been completely broken up, and the French statesman is now free, and even bound, to take that course which is most in accordance with the true interests of his country, without reference to the rights of particular families, deriving from an order which has in fact passed away. He is free to support the republic, in total forgetfulness, as it were, of the hereditary claims to reign of the Bourbons or of the Bonapartes, and ought to do so, if in the providence of God and the mutations of human things the republic has become the only practicable order, or the best practicable government for his country; for there is a broad difference between hereditary personal rights and hereditary personal trusts; between overthrowing a monarchy for the sake of establishing a republic, and supporting a republic after monarchy has been overthrown; between struggling to sustain a monarchy that is assailed, and struggling to restore a monarchy that has fallen. The first want of France is government, and its second want is wise and efficient government, able alike to protect itself and the freedom of the subject; and the duty of the French statesman is to provide for these wants in the best and speediest manner now practicable. If they can be best provided for by monarchical restoration, royal or imperial in the elder or the younger branch of the Bourbons,

then he should labor for such restoration; if they can be best provided for by the republic, princely under Louis Napoleon, or citizen under General Cavaignac, then such republic should be accepted and supported. We regard France, since the revolution of February, as to the constitution of political power, as to a great extent thrown back under the law of nature, and as not only free, but bound, to reconstitute government in the manner best adapted to her future welfare, and the question for her to settle is, not the claims of princes, but the political constitution she needs to preserve herself from becoming a prey to the socialists and red-republicans."

The article from which this is extracted discusses the course of parties in France under the republic and recommends a change of the constitution so as to render Louis Napoleon re-eligible, or else to prolong his term to eight or ten years. The latter suggestion was adopted.

In a letter dated Paris, May 14th, 1851, Montalembert writes:

MY VERY DEAR SIR:—Our pagan ancestors used to say: *Major e longinquō reverentia*, and when I see how fairly and how truly you judge our European disputes and dangers, I am tempted to change the ancient saying into this: *Major e longinquō sapientia*. I assure you, without compliment, that I have not yet met with one, who, on the whole, has better views of our state of things and persons than yourself. This means, as you will understand, that I am completely of your opinion on almost every subject, and can only admire how, at such a distance from men and measures, you contrive

to sift their value as you do. But I am convinced that prayer and meditation can give a sort of preternatural insight into worldly matters as well as spiritual truths, when they are directed by a pure and profound intention to serve the cause of truth and of God's Holy Church.

A few observations you will of course allow. Your judgment on Gioberti is really too indulgent: had you but read the works * whose titles you mention, I should perfectly understand the moderation of your language; but you surely have known his *conduct* at Rome and during the whole course of recent Italian events: † you have surely heard of his preface to the second edition of the *Primato* and of his most infamous work called the *Gesuita Moderno*. Except La Mennais, no priest, I think, in our times, has more scandalously profaned his sacred character. He is now living in Paris, quite divested of every sacerdotal *exterior* or *interior* virtue. The pride and paganism of this man, as exemplified in his early writings, you have most excellently denounced: a second article on his latter works and acts, would be, I think, of great use to the Catholic public in America. Another distinguished Italian ecclesiastic, Father Ventura, has nearly fallen a victim to the *morbus democraticus*, of which the Roman revolution was such a striking symptom; he is here, and still professes most absurd opinions on the temporal interests of the Roman

* The meaning is: had you read only the works, etc.

† A man must be hard to please who calls the judgment on Gioberti too indulgent, and Brownson was generally supposed to be severe, even too severe, in his criticisms; and it would be difficult to find in his writings an instance when he has brought more varied and damning charges against an author than he does in the one referred to by his correspondent on Vincenzo Gioberti in his Review for October, 1850 (Works, vol. II, p. 101). He says substantially all Montalembert does, except as concerns his being divested of *interior* virtue: that the Reviewer does not allude to.

state, and on the conduct of the Holy Father, whose confidential friend and adviser he was for some months in 1847. But in the pulpit his language is most eloquent, most sound, and most orthodox: he is by far our *best* preacher. Very different from Gioberti, he is an enthusiastic admirer of the middle ages, and therefore too severe upon the infirmities of modern governments, which are too often, not the consequences of their bad will, but of the destruction (anterior to them) of Catholic sociability and rational hierarchy. With respect to the middle ages, I have been most deeply gratified to see page 445 * your noble retraction of the former view you took on this most important subject,—so that now we are completely *d'accord* on this point, the only one upon which I had apprehended some diversity of views between us.

* *Vincenzo Gioberti*, Works, vol. 2, p. 137. "The author tells us, that in civilization there is, besides the religious element, the human element, and his pretence is, no doubt, that the human element of civilization was more perfect among the cultivated gentiles than it is among the moderns. This view, we ourselves took when we wrote the essay on *The Church in the Dark Ages* (vol. x, p. 239); but the study of Gioberti's own dialectics which we have since made, has of itself served to convince us that it is not true, and that the Christian cannot consistently entertain it. Civilization he makes the creation of the priesthood, and, as we have seen, he identifies it with religion; then in civilization proper there is and can be no human element distinguishable from the religious; for it is only as instructed and informed by the sacerdotal culture than man is, or can be, *civilized man*. The sum total of the life of a so-called civilized country is, no doubt, a mixed result, composed of a religious and a human element, but this life, in so far as distinguishably human, is defective, and not yet civilized. Thus far religion has not been able to subdue the human element, and transform its acts into religious acts, therefore into civilized acts. If the priesthood creates civilization, then civilization cannot be a mixed result of the human and the divine, in any other sense than is religion itself as exhibited by man a mixed result, but must be a pure result of the religious element acting on and subduing the human. Then, again, if man is in his normal state only in the Christian society, how can it be possible for the human element to attain a more perfect and exquisite development out of that society, and therefore, as Gioberti contends, as well as we, disjoined from the true human race,—the human race living in the unity of the ideal, therefore in communion with God,—than it can or does in that society itself? If this were so, we should be obliged to assume that the abnormal is more perfect and exquisite than the normal,—a monstrous paradox.

Your judgment on Hungary and Austria is the more meritorious as it must meet with immense contradiction on your side of the Atlantic as well as ours. My personal acquaintance with the country and the people of Austria and Hungary have led me to the same appreciation of the Hungarian revolt in 1848. And I can but admire your extraordinary perspicacity in thus forming your view of this momentous contest while you had nothing but Hungarian special pleadings and Hungarian romances to guide you. But I must confess that you seem to me too severe against the Hungarian nation in the past, and especially against their aristocratical laws and manners. I go so far as to admit that of all governments aristocracy in itself is the best, and that wherever, as in Hungary, an aristocracy has kept true to its military courage and social energy, it ought to be maintained, even at the expense of *humanitarian* theories, and so-called *equality* of rights. In the same number in which you so mercilessly belabor the Hungarian nobles for their wicked behavior towards the peasantry, you are obliged to take the defense of *slavery* in the southern states of your own confederation, and surely the slaves in Virginia or Carolina are more to be pitied than the *slaves* in Transylvania.* Neither can I admit the value of the distinction which you attempt to draw between the cause of Hungary fighting against Austria, and

* It has already been pointed out how far Brownson was from defending slavery as a southern and local institution; but the reader who will refer to his Works, vol. xvii., p. 1, in the article on *The Higher Law*, to which Montalembert refers, he will find not only what has been the teaching of St. Paul and his successors, but a very clear foresight of what was brought about sixteen years afterwards by the American Congress when it knowingly placed party interests before those of the country. In a democracy, after it has acquired full sway, politicians are just as ready as grand monarchs to exclaim: *Après moi, le déluge.*

America fighting against England. The Hungarians were not, as the Americans, the descendants and dependents of the nation against whom they rebelled, and they have declared over and over again that they resisted *tyranny*, not *royalty*. I believe they were mistaken, but their theory of insurrection was *at least* as legitimate as that of the insurgents of 1776. I also claim some indulgence for the poor Poles, who, having been outlawed by civilized and monarchical Europe, for no other crime but for having loved and bled for their noble old country (whose *murder* was the first triumph of revolution in Europe), cannot be expected to remain an orderly, satisfied people, and have naturally enough fallen a prey to the crimes and follies of German and French democrats. Their guilt is great, but that of their conquerors and oppressors still greater. The irretrievable fault of Poland, as well as of Hungary (and in this latter case most inexcusable), has been to allow the holy and just cause of *nationality* and moderate *traditional* freedom to be absorbed and corrupted into revolutionary democracy, and to have contracted an alliance with revolutionists who are the necessary foes of every liberty and of every historical right or memorial in the world. Austria, as you most justly say, deserves the sympathies of all honest men: her triumphs over foreign and domestic foes, due to the admirable *traditional* spirit of her army, and sanctified by the recent emancipation of the church from Josephist trammels, is by far the most splendid and consolatory page in cotemporary history. But I am afraid ere long she will have new dangers to encounter. Her bureaucracy, and her fatal tendency towards centrali-

zation, will pave the way for a future and not very remote outbreak of revolution. Prince Schwartzenberg is not, I am afraid, the man to wage war against *administrative* revolution. Prince Windischgrätz, I apprehend, would have done better.

The state of France is still enveloped in the deepest incertitude. If one were to judge from a merely human standing, there would be no chance of salvation for us. Instead of profiting by the lesson given to us from above in 1848, all the old parties, being delivered for a time, thanks to the President and his government, from the fear of an immediate triumph of socialism, have set to their old work again, with the most melancholy forgetfulness of past crimes and past misfortunes. Thiers, Molé, Guizot, are *playing* together against Louis Napoleon exactly the same game that they used to play one after the other against Louis Philip. Others, like your old friend, Victor Cousin, uphold and maintain the revolutionary doctrines of 1789 and 1830 with a sort of diabolical perseverance in perversity. But what is most to be lamented and to be astonished at, is the folly of the legitimist party. These poor simpletons, instead of thanking God for their preservation from the fangs of terrorism, and instead of blessing Him for the unexampled and unexpected success of Catholic interests, as demonstrated by the Education Law and the Pope's restoration, think that nothing is of any use or any good unless they get back a king, and their own king, Henry V. The immense mass of the people will not hear of this prince, not because he is a king, but because he is the king of party, and of the most unpopular party in France; and

strange to say, the legitimists imagine that poor King Henry V., if once brought back, could last and live with a democratic constitution, *universal suffrage*, which they have always been the first to claim and approve of, and a parliamentary government, like that which destroyed his grandfather in 1830 and his uncle in 1848. So that instead of lending their considerable strength to the present honest and very tolerable government, in order to make it better, and to insist on its fortifying moral and religious interests at home and abroad, their only policy is to overturn the President and prevent his re-election, for fear that his re-election should delay the return of their prince. The Orleanists are working in the same way, in order to get the regency of the Protestant and rationalist Duchess of Orleans, and the republicans do their best to obtain the same result, because they hate the President for not having unbridled democracy, and for having restored the Pope. So that you have everywhere this noble axiom proclaimed as the rule of all political tactics: *AVANT TOUT, il faut faire sauter le Président!* Most likely they will succeed, but the President, if destroyed, can only be succeeded by *socialism*, as I have tried to demonstrate in my last speech. Our prospects would therefore be most cheerless if we were not encouraged to hope more than ever in God's mercy, on account of the really astonishing change which is gradually taking place in the religious disposition of the people. Although far from offering the picture of a really Christian people, it is now an *undeniable* fact that since 1848 the church has taken a considerable hold on the minds and hearts of thousands who formerly ignored or

hated her. The spiritual fruits of the *Jubilee* have been most abundant. The number of colleges and schools opened by the clergy, Jesuits, etc., since the education law is prodigious. The Jesuits alone have already more colleges than when they were suppressed by Charles X. Religious communities of women and of *men* are everywhere springing up, and their number and success would be infinite if we could but obtain a slight modification of the law against *mort-main*. This change we should have conquered undoubtedly if the 150 legitimist representatives had taken their ground on this and similar questions, tendering their support to government *on condition* that such and similar concessions should be made to the church. As it is we must wait with patience and confidence for some new manifestation of the Almighty's omnipotence and omniscience. My great effort at present is to prevent the clergy from being drawn away from their higher and impartial standing by legitimist delusions. The Univers, after a temporary deviation, having returned to the right path, I trust we shall succeed.

I send through Messrs. Bossange, two or three volumes, 1st, the *Ere des Césars* by Romieu (not a Catholic), but a very bold and intelligent judge of our situation; 2d, *France et Lorraine*, by M. de La Tour, a great friend of mine, a Breton who has been in the Austrian army, and will open to you a new and true perspective in history; 3d, a most remarkable work, called *Restauration de la France*, by Blanc St. Bonnet, which I am sure you will appreciate and admire as it deserves to be, barring one or two ultra *royalist* chapters at the end.

With renewed thanks for your kindness, and renewed admiration for all your labors (including your excellent literary notices and criticisms), I remain, my dear sir, your very affectionate friend and obedient servant,

LE CTE DE MONTALEMBERT.

The Marquis de Valdegamas, Mr. Louis Veuillot, Mr. de La Tour, and myself, have conceived the plan of a Catholic Quarterly Review for Europe and the whole Catholic world, published in French and at Paris, as the central point of all that is both good and bad in our present state of society. This periodical would be especially devoted to historical and literary judgments, and drawn up in the strictest ultramontane and *anti-democratic* principles. If you could ever become a contributor to this future Review, or allow us to translate your essays, either published or unpublished, in America, we should be very grateful, as your mind is so congenial to ours, and your name would then cease to be a stranger to so many European Catholics.

✓The article which called forth Montalembert's remarks about Austria and Hungary, was one of several on the same subject, contributed by Rev. John P. Roddan, of whom mention has already been made in previous chapters of this work. Brownson coincided, to some extent, with the criticism of Roddan, as appears from his next letter to Montalembert, dated June 30, 1851, in which he says: "In my Review for July, which you will, I hope, receive with this, you will perceive that I have devoted an article to French politics, based on your speech of February 10, a copy of which yourself or some other friend had previously

sent me. You will find, I think, that I have adopted your views. I urge the maintenance of the Republic, and its re-election or prolongation of the powers of the President, Prince Napoleon, not because, in itself considered, I think a republic the best for France, but because I look upon it as at present the only practicable government for her. You will find in the same number two other articles, the I. and the V.,* in which I have endeavored to point out some of the evils and dangers of democracy in the United States, and which seem to me inseparable from that form of government.

"I accept, and so does the writer, your criticisms on the Hungarian article. I am not myself the author of the article. It was written by one our most promising young priests, educated at the Propaganda, and ordained at Rome in 1848, and who came home almost a Mazzinian, and quite enamored of the European revolutionary movements. But he has become a convert to sounder views, and is now a pretty good conservative, although a little too much of a republican. I saw the faults in the article you point out, but could not very well correct them, and as the article was designed as an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to those of my own countrymen who defend the Magyars on the ground that they are democrats, I thought it best to let it pass, although in some respects not in accordance with my own view. The same writer is preparing me another article on the subject, in which he will bring out the other side of the question.

"Whether the American revolt from the British crown in 1776 was justifiable or not, I am not in my

* Cooper's *Ways of the Hour*, Works, vol. xvi., page 326, and *The Fugitive-Slave Law*, vol. xvii., p. 17.

own country called upon to discuss. In my own personal judgment, it was not; and I date the legality of our proceedings from the acknowledgment of our independence by Great Britain in 1783, as I think you can collect from my Review for April last, if you do me the honor to read my remarks on Mr. Webster's letter to the Chevalier Hülsemann. My countrymen, almost to a man, justify that revolution on the ground of the sacred right of revolution,—a ground not generally assumed by the insurgents themselves,—and I have simply wished to deny that right and to show to my countrymen that their defense is to be based on another principle, namely, that George the Third was a tyrant, and the tyranny of the prince absolves the subject, as contended by the congress of 1776 in the Declaration of Independence.* This may not distinguish our insurgents from the Hungarians, in point of fact, but it, certainly does, if, as Mr. Webster assumes, the Hungarians, rebelled, not against tyranny merely, but against royalty.

"I can hardly agree with you that the *slaves* of Virginia and Carolina are more to be pitied than the *slaves* of Transylvania. I am no friend to negro slavery, but I am satisfied that slavery is the best estate possible for the negroes in this country at present, and I do not think that their condition as slaves is upon the

* The principle that the prince's tyranny absolves the subject, so often insisted upon by Brownson, has been asserted by many Popes; but the most explicit declaration of the principle that I know of, is by Pope Nicholas the First, about the middle of the ninth century. He says: verumtamen videte utrum reges isti et principes quibus vos subjectos esse dicitis, veraciter reges et principes sint. Videte si primum se bene regunt, deine subjectum populum; nam qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit? Videte si jure principiantur: aliqui potius tyranni credendi sunt, quam reges habendi; quibus magis resistere et ex adverso ascendere, quam subdi debemus. Labbe, Concil. Tom. viii, p. 487.

whole worse than that of the great body of the operatives in our factories. The free negroes can only be a degraded caste among us."

The book by St. Bonnet, *de la Restauration Française*, was reviewed by Brownson in his October number for 1851,* with much praise of the author's faith, earnestness, and intelligence. On the whole, the Reviewer deemed the work fitted to exert a salutary influence; but he condemned the author's theory of progress and development, which he shows to be false and unchristian. I met the author in Paris soon after the Review for October, 1851, had reached there, and he expressed himself as highly gratified by the criticism, and seemed thankful that his error as to "development" had been pointed out.

De la Tour's work, *Lorraine et France*, was reviewed in the January following. In the meantime the author wrote to Brownson:

TRÉGUIER, (CÔTES DU NORD) 29 Septembre, 1851.

MONSIEUR :—J'ai prié M. de Montalembert de vous remercier de vos encouragements; il m'invite à vous adresser moi-même mes remerciements et à vous expliquer mes pensées; j'obéis bien volontiers à cette invitation, car je ne saurais trop vous exprimer ma reconnaissance et mon estime pour les services que vous rendez à la cause sociale et catholique. Je doute que vous trouviez, dans votre pays même, un grand nombre d'intelligents apprécienteurs, ou bien le niveau du cœur et de l'esprit est plus élevé aux Etats-Unis qu'en France: mais n'eussiez-vous que deux ou trois cents d'intelligents et zélés lecteurs, vous formeriez en eux

* Works, vol. xiv., page 197.

un bataillon sacré, capable de résistance au mal et l'expansion du bien; et je crois que l'Amérique aura bientôt grand besoin d'une telle phalaenge, pour combattre chez elle l'orgueil national, le protestantisme, et le matérialisme égoïste qui découle finalement de ces sources-là.

Votre définition de l'origine du protestantisme me semble parfaite. Oui, après l'orgueil naturel du cœur humain, il est né de la renaissance du paganisme et de l'indépendance de l'état à l'égard de l'église, c'est-à-dire, de l'*athéisme politique*. Cette dernière expression me paraît tout-à-fait vraie. L'Univers serait sauvé s'il la comprenait; il ne faudrait que cela aux peuples et aux princes pour être grands, bons, et heureux; car ils se remettraient en la main de Dieu qui récompense au centuple, même ici-bas, ses enfants dociles.

Mais pour arriver là, il faudrait changer complètement l'esprit et le cœur du siècle; il faudrait le ramener, par la foi, à l'amour et au service de Dieu et du prochain. Il faudrait d'abord dégager les éléments de la vrai doctrine en théologie, en philosophie, en histoire, en pédagogie, en politique. Il faudrait éléver le niveau de l'instruction et de la composition du clergé, transformer les universités, comprimer la presse anarchiste, cesser de singer dans ce qu'elles ont de mauvais les institutions anglaises, pour arriver à détruire l'esprit de discussion et d'indiscipline qui tend à faire régner dans toute l'Europe le socialisme, cette formidable hérésie du XIXe siècle.

Quels sont les éléments d'action pour refaire au siècle une âme chrétienne? ils sont si rares et si faibles que nombre d'hommes de talent croient plus sûrement

utile d'aller évangéliser les nègres et les Chinois que de se consacrer aux missions européennes. La majorité des *honnêtes gens* a pour idéal cette république payenne que St. Augustin décrit dans *la cité de Dieu* (l. ii, ch. xx), un état de choses où règnent la paresse et les vils plaisirs: il est bien juste que les trouble-fête socialistes se chargent de leur offrir la réalisation de ce noble idéal. La doctrine fait défaut partout, même chez les catholiques. Ils ne comprennent pas même que c'est la décadence de l'église et de l'aristocratie qui a livré le monde moderne à la force et à l'orgueil, et qui a permis à ces passions d'effacer les obstacles que le morcellement des peuples, la variété des institutions, la hiérarchie des classes et des corporations opposaient à l'autocratie des princes et à la centralization exagérée; d'où devaient provenir les tendances à l'universel républicanisme rationaliste. Parmi les catholiques les plus érudits, la plupart sont encore les apologistes de ces faux grands hommes du XVIIe siècle dont la politique demi-payenne a organisé l'idolâtrie complète du siècle suivant. Richelieu, entr'autres, ce restaurateur du protestantisme, du prussianisme et du josephisme, ce cardinal, qui, dans son testament politique, se glorifiait d'avoir abaissé le saint empire et par conséquent la papauté, sans avoir recours à l'alliance ottomane, qu'il déclarait pourtant légitime, ce grand mais funeste génie, les catholiques français l'admirent particulièrement; et dans l'*Univers* même on a pris contre moi la défense de cet *opprimé*. [Hier encore un savant docteur en théologie cherchait à me prouver que Richelieu avait eu plus de mérites que d'erreurs. Il est vrai que j'ai exagérée l'attaque, en ne tenant pas assez compte des

motifs d'excuse; mais, malgré ces motifs, je persiste à penser que cet homme a été un terrible démolisseur, et que le nombre, l'ardeur de ses apologistes, parmi les catholiques, montrent particulièrement que nous avons perdu le sens de l'histoire chrétienne.] La doctrine, comme la foi, sa mère, est la clef de toute lumière et de tout bien. Si elle n'est pas restaurée dans les esprits et les cœurs, les hommes continueront à se rapetisser et les institutions à s'amoindrir: on ne saura ni enseigner ni organiser, ni commander, ni gouverner, ni obéir: par conséquent aucun pouvoir ne sera stable, et on verra des nations brillantes, comme les Français, des nations prodigieuses, comme les Anglo-américains, n'avoir de fierté que pour la révolte contre les autorités nécessaires, de soumission que pour l'esclavage sous le joug de la révolution.

Force est donc de se mettre à l'œuvre pour essayer de faire entrer un peu de doctrine parmi les catholiques, dont le cœur est encore plus ouvert que les autres, par la Grâce, à l'enseignement chrétien. Et comme il est impossible qu'un homme seul accomplisse cette tâche, nous devons chercher les moyens de condenser et de généraliser l'essence des plus remarquables travaux catholiques écrits dans les Deux Mondes. C'est pourquoi, depuis quelques mois, M. de Montalembert et plusieurs de ses amis sont frappés de la nécessité de créer à Paris une revue catholique universelle, qui apprendrait aux pionniers de la renaissance chrétienne à se connaître, à s'estimer, à s'entr'aider, et qui amènerait peu à peu l'organisation d'une association académique dont l'action grandirait certainement si elle avait quelque durée. Mais la réalisation de ces vœux est

bien difficile, pour le temps prochain. La violente hostilité des aveugles légitimistes contre M. de Montalembert, les folles attaques de l'*Univers* contre lui à propos de la loi de l'enseignement, la trahison de MM. de Falloux et Dupanloup, qui ont tourné contre lui l'*Ami de la Religion*, après l'avoir créée, sous ses auspices et par son nom : toutes ces défections, toutes ces déceptions ont profondément découragé et momentanément affaibli l'homme qui doit être le pivot de toute politique chrétienne en France. La même défection des légitimistes a motivé les intrigues de MM. Thiers, Changarnier et autres, les hésitations des conservateurs bonapartistes ; et notre malheureux pays est dans une telle confusion que nul ne peut compter sur un lendemain. Chacun est obligé de lutter à son poste. Pour moi, je m'épuise dans le journalisme provincial pour tâcher de conserver à la foi, contre les ultrà-légitimistes et les socialistes, le cœur de ma Bretagne, dans l'espoir qu'elle pourrait opposer encore une certaine résistance à l'anarchie, et faire flotter contre le socialisme la bannière marquée de la Croix. Nous ne pouvons tâcher sérieusement de réaliser à Paris nos projets de Revue, de propagande doctrinale et d'histoire catholique, que si nous avons un répit un peu prolongé, et quelques espérances d'avenir.

Je regrette infiniment d'être obligé de me dépenser, depuis trois ans, dans le journalisme, alors que j'aurais dû me borner à des recettes d'instruction pour entrer ensuite, bien armé, dans la lice historique. S'il me reste des yeux et des forces, peut-être essaierai-je bientôt le récit de la révolution de Hongrie pour me préparer à de plus graves travaux historiques. J'ai

habité ce pays pendant six ans; et j'ai été émerveillé de la façon dont vous avez saisi le caractère général de ses habitants. Cependant je crois que vous avez été un peu trop sévère à l'endroit de la majorité de la noblesse magyare. Les deux tiers de la haute aristocratie sont demeurés attachés à l'Autriche; mais comme elle réside peu dans ses terres et laisse les paysans entre les mains de misérables employés, ce secours a été peu efficace. Parmi la noblesse secondaire et les gentilshommes paysans beaucoup ont été séduits, comme la noblesse française en '89, par un faux libéralisme, et se sont prêtés, pour ce motif, à l'émancipation des paysans. Mais il est vrai que toute cette race a prétendu assujettir les Slaves et les Roumans; cet orgueil indomptable des Magyars est un des dangers de l'Europe; car, par là, la Russie trouvera toujours des alliés en Hongrie.

Continuez, je vous prie, Monsieur, à fortifier M. de Montalembert par vos critiques et vos encouragements. Votre voix aura de l'empire sur lui; car vous l'avez blâmé quand tous le louaient, et loué quand beaucoup le blâmaient, et il a reconnu que vous aviez parfaitement raison.

J'écris aussi aujourd'hui au Prince Windischgrätz qui est bien digne de votre considération.

Je serais charmé, Monsieur, de recevoir quelquefois de vos nouvelles et de vos conseils.

Puisse Dieu continuer à faire de vous un instrument de miséricorde et de vérité!

Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de ma plus haute considération et de mon dévouement en N.S.

G. DE LA TOUR.

On receipt of this letter, Brownson proceeded to do what he was able to towards the encouraging of Montalembert; but when the following letter was finished and directed it must have got mixed with papers which always lay in apparent confusion on the writer's desk. In arranging these papers after his death, this forgotten letter was found:

BOSTON, U. S., Nov. 15, 1851.

MY DEAR COUNT:—I have just received a very kind and interesting letter from your friend, M. de la Tour, for which I must thank you as well as him. I regret to learn the contemplated Review is postponed. It is much needed, and I am sure would meet with success. Mr. de la Tour tells me that you are somewhat discouraged. I do not like to hear of discouragement. I have had all my life-time to fight against powerful odds, but I have never seen any way to do, but to keep on fighting. No man ever yet stood up for truth and justice, God and heaven, but he had to complain of opposition from all quarters. He is sure to be opposed, and to be deserted by friends, and left to struggle on almost single handed. God sends him this trial to prove him, and to let him see that his strength is in the Almighty, and not in himself. We may fight with varying success, but if we keep on fighting, we shall triumph in dying and no man really triumphs before. Success in that hour is certain, if we persevere, and we may well, when we have done our duty, trust our cause, our beloved country, to the providence of God. I see my own country rushing to moral destruction as fast as it can; I do what I am able to arrest it, and I leave the rest to God, who I know loves my

country more than I do, and is disposed to do infinitely more for its good than I am. Spera in Deo, commit the cause of your country to Him and let not your heart be sad, nor your strength fail. My confidence in the wisdom of your career grows in proportion as I see you deserted and thwarted.

Yes, my dear Count, it is perhaps consoling to both of us, that the fate of our respective nations depends on the disposal of Heaven, not on our individual exertions, and that we shall have to answer only for the zeal and firmness with which we have labored to serve them. It is comfortable to believe in God, and to feel that we have no responsibility beyond our individual fidelity. You are not obliged to succeed; it is enough to deserve success.

You are engaged in the old war between Christianity and heathenism, that is, the still older war of the spirit and of the flesh, transferred from the bosom of the individual to the political and social field,—a war that will never cease as long as the world stands. We fight under a disadvantage, because our worst enemy is in our own camp. The state, for the last two or three centuries, even in Catholic countries, is heathen, and the mass of our Catholics in political and social matters are veritable pagans, asserting the independence and supremacy of the secular order. The Catholic statesmen of Europe have prepared the present state of things by their endeavors to weaken the papacy, to convert the church from the Catholic to the national church, and subject it to the temporal power. Their policy is the natural policy of all statesmen, and the consequences of it are now beginning to be seen; but you cannot expect

any very considerable number of politicians to become wise, and therefore you must expect the majority of them, no matter of what party, to oppose you, if you insist on anything like Christian politics.

I have great tenderness for your old legitimists, but I consider them unable to retain power, if they could get it, or make a wise use of it if they could keep it. In religion they may be good Catholics, but in politics they are far enough from being good papists. They may disavow their old Gallican traditions, yet were they in power they would revive and act on them. I had hoped M. de Falloux had risen above the prejudices of his class, and was prepared to adopt a wise and generous policy for the times. But it seems that he is not. I am at a loss to understand what can have induced Mgr. Dupanloup to oppose your policy. You sacrificed much to him and M. de Falloux. What is it they want? What is it they hope? The more I study your French politics, the more am I convinced of the folly and madness of attempting to make Henry V. King of France. I have no republican prejudices; I abhor democracy; but I own that I wish to see Louis Napoleon re-elected president, and that if you restore monarchy, it should be in the family of the Bonapartes rather than in that of the Bourbons. Your new France must have a new dynasty, for, humanly speaking, it would never be contented with the old, and it seems to me that the legitimists themselves might see this. I respect the principle of legitimacy, but I do not believe a nation is obliged to sacrifice itself to the interests of any family.

I suspect that our government and that of Great

Britain have come to an understanding to lend at least their *indirect* influence to the continental revolutionists, and mainly with purposes hostile to the papacy. Unless something should breed a quarrel between them, you may consider them allied to spread red-republicanism, and the only safety, under God, I can see, is for Catholic Europe to form intimate alliances with Austria, and thus form a power sufficient to check the further advances of the monarchical absolutism of ✓ Russia, on the one hand, and the American democratic absolutism, on the other. I think an alliance of this sort more practicable with the Bonapartes than with the Bourbons; for the Bourbons, I fear, would incline to monarchical centralism, and push Austria further in the very direction in which she has already gone too far. My opinion is that Great Britain supports our democracy, and that the two great enemies to social order and Christian freedom are the United States backed by England, and Russia. Our next election, however, will in all probability throw the whigs out of power, and install the democrats, who are no friends to England, and will be more conservative than a whig government, in our foreign relations, because they can afford to be. This may be some slight gain, but it will be only momentary. You have, then, two enemies to guard against, and it seems to me that your combinations must be formed with Austria. France and Austria can combine all Catholic Europe.

As far as we can here judge, you are likely to have stormy times this coming 1852, but I trust in God you will be able to resist the socialistic movements. We are to give Kossuth an ovation here, and show to

the world what fools and madmen we are. The lion must have his day. The popular tide runs too high in Kossuth's favor for us to be able to resist it; but I trust we shall survive it. Your European diplomats would do well to keep an eye on this country. I have written for my January number of the Review an article on *Lorraine et France* as much in M. de la Tour's spirit as my censor,* who happens to be an admirer of Richelieu, would suffer to pass. I hope it will meet M. de la Tour's approbation.

Since I wrote you last I have been much out of health, and I met with some discouragements, and can much better point out to others how to keep their courage up, than keep up my own. But I work on as well as I can, do the best I am able, without finding half-a-dozen friends who cordially co-operate with me. I have seen the time when I could speak and make myself heard throughout my country; now I speak, and almost the only echoes that come back to cheer me are from noble and sympathizing souls in other countries. Nevertheless, the truth can wait, and no true and seasonable word is ever spoken in vain.

I shall be happy to hear from you as often as you can find it convenient to write me. I need your counsels, your advice, and perhaps sometimes your rebukes. I look upon myself as a humble soldier in the little army of which you are one of the leaders, and my wish is to receive and obey orders. All who are engaged in fighting the heathenism of the day, for social order and Christian freedom, should act as far as possible in concert. When you write me, I will thank

* Bishop Fitzpatrick.

you, if there is no impropriety in your doing so, to name me some of the more influential of the legitimists. Forgive me for troubling you with my poor thoughts, and accept the assurances of my profound respect and affectionate esteem,

O. A. BROWNSON.

VICOMTE DE MONTALEMBERT.

CHAPTER XI.

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.—BALTIMORE.—MONTREAL.

DURING the winter of 1851-2, Brownson's principal lectures were given in Baltimore and St. Louis. The first decided on were the St. Louis course of four, to which a fifth was added by request of those who attended the rest.

The Archbishop of St. Louis wrote him in relation to the proposed lectures in that city as follows:

ST. LOUIS, 27th, Oct., 1851.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—I have been requested by some very excellent Catholic gentlemen of this city to inform you that they have placed in my hands \$250 subject to your order at sight. They will address a letter to you by this day's post, in which they will explain the nature of the commission they have given me. I shall be very happy if they are successful in their application to you, as, besides more important considerations, it will afford me the occasion of becoming personally acquainted with one whom I most sincerely respect. Should you accept

their invitation, you will confer on me a favor by sending me a telegraphic dispatch to that effect.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem, your obedient servant in Xt.

PETER RICHARD,
Abp. of St. Louis.

The invitation from the committee does not very materially differ from many others, but may be worth preserving as a record of the religious activity of the laity in those times: it is also the first communication Brownson received from one who became a very strong friend, as did also his two equally distinguished brothers.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., 28th October, 1851.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq., LL. D.

DEAR SIR:—The undersigned appointed by the Catholics of this city, a committee to organize for the ensuing winter a course of Catholic lectures and select the lecturers, have the honor to address you in this capacity.

The plan upon which these lectures are to be organized, is to have but three or four lecturers and each of these to deliver a course of not less than four nor more than six lectures upon the subject they may select.

The object of these lectures is twofold:

First to dissipate prejudice. Such is the studied effort of Protestantism to poison from their infancy the minds of its votaries, that we believe many now dissenting from us would at once enter the pale of the church could a successful effort be made to dispel their prejudices. They are taught to believe the church hideous, that history proves it to be so, for for them

history has been shamefully interpolated with slanders. There are many questions inappropriate to the pulpit, suited only to the lecture stand, the importance of which, however, is only second to those which treat of matters of faith. To dispel, then, Protestant prejudices and to awaken Catholic fervor by the defense of the church and the exposure of falsehoods of which it has been the intended victim, is one of our objects.

The second purpose is, that if these lectures prove successful, the proceeds be applied to the erection of a "Catholic Institute Hall" wherein all our Catholic benevolent societies may meet, where we may group our libraries and where we can hold our fairs, our suppers, and our lectures. So warmly does our estimable and loved Archbishop approve of this part of our project that he has promised us a lot (of ground) and moreover that he would of his own limited means subscribe for the purpose. With such objects in view, can we not have the weight of your powerful assistance and will you not consent to give one of the proposed courses? Our Archbishop has already written to make of you the proposed request. Though personally unknown to you, we rely upon him, upon the cause we advocate, and upon your well known zeal and devotion for the spread of Catholicity, that you will reply favorably. In the event of your acceptance, you can name your own time when the course to be delivered by you shall commence.

We have the honor to be your friends and very obedient servants,

ALEX. J. P. GARESCHE,

For Joseph E. Elder, Joseph O'Neil, Richard F. Barry,
and A. J. P. Garesché, Committee on Lectures.

In answer, Brownson wrote that he could not spare the time and labor of travelling to St. Louis and delivering four lectures for the sum mentioned in the Archbishop's letter, and stating the terms on which he would accept the invitation. In reply Kenrick, who seems to have thought that he had written what he had not, sent the following communication:

ST. LOUIS, 19th November, 1851.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—I have already apprized you by the telegraph, that the committee have accepted your terms. Indeed, I fear that you have misunderstood my letter, in which \$500 was mentioned, one-half of which was placed in my hands, subject to your order. Be this as it may have been, the committee authorize me to say that you shall have \$400 above all your expenses to St. Louis, while here, and back to Boston. The committee are well aware of fully indemnifying you for the loss of time and labor which a journey to St. Louis, especially at this season of the year, implies. I hope that you will be able to give some lectures in Cincinnati on your way to St. Louis, and that your arrangements will permit you to extend your visit to this city for two weeks, as it would be scarcely possible to procure a full attendance on four nights of one week: two lectures a week are as much as could be well given. As you have intimated your willingness that I should choose among the different titles you suggest as appropriate to the intended lectures, I would prefer the title, Catholicism and Civilization, to either of the other two mentioned in your letter, as more in keeping with the character which it is designed to give the embryo association,

than one having a controversial character. It has been suggested to me that your presence would be likely to add some names to the subscription list of your admirable Review, and that it would not be amiss were your publisher to send some additional numbers of the next number to his agent in this city. I shall be very glad of the occasion which your visit will afford me of becoming personally acquainted with one whom I most sincerely esteem, and whose masterly vindication of our common faith causes me frequently to thank God for the grace conferred upon you, and through you, I doubt not, on many others.

I remain, dear sir, yours very truly in Christ,

+ PETER RICHARD,

Abp. of St. Louis.

Brownson began his course of lectures in St. Louis, which were extended to five, on the subject of Catholicity and Civilization, early in January.

The lectures were a sort of running commentary on the text, "Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God, and his justice; and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matt. VI., 33.) The lecturer maintained that all true civilization is of Catholic origin, and that all nations in the ancient world became barbarous in proportion as they departed from the patriarchal religion, and that all modern nations tend to barbarism in proportion as they recede from the Catholic Church. He did not maintain this thesis precisely as an argument for the church, for he contended that the church is spiritual, instituted, not for the civilization of nations, but for the glory of God in the salvation of souls; he maintained it because it is

historically true and because it is a conclusive argument against the carnal Judaism into which the world has lapsed, and which proposes simply material civilization and temporal well-being as its sole end.

In explaining the meaning of liberty, he spoke of the different senses in which that word is used: 1st, as the freedom of the people, or the collective mass, to govern; 2nd, as the freedom of reason and will; and 3d, as the freedom of passion,—the sense in which the word is commonly taken in our times.

Democracy is freedom from tyrants, but it is not freedom from demagogues. The people may be free to govern in a democracy; but it does not follow that the individuals are free. The right of the majority to govern is destructive of individual liberty. We have lost personal freedom; we are surrounded by philanthropic committees who won't leave us even a chance to breathe; we have reformers who come into our sleeping-rooms, our sitting-rooms, our ovens, and our kneading-troughs, like the frogs of Egypt. These men never take up a question on its merits; they have no respect for individual liberty. They control men by abolition societies, Maine-liquor laws, and humbugs of that sort. If they can only bring a majority real or fictitious to their support, they suppose they have the right to make the individual yield to them. By the tyranny of public opinion, individual freedom is destroyed, though popular liberty is preserved.

"Whoever has watched the tendency of these things, knows that, though there is no law against liberty of speech, there is in reality no nation where there is so little freedom of thought and speech as in

the United States." Here the speaker was interrupted by a storm of hisses and groans mingled with very determined applause : the noise lasted for a minute or two, during which time Brownson crossed his arms and very calmly looked his audience in the face. When order was partially restored, he continued : " If a proof of my assertion were needed, I would ask no better than that hiss." (Loud applause.)

The liberty which revolutionists want; what they sought in the revolutions of '48, was not the liberty to do right, to do the will of God; but the liberty for themselves to govern, or not to be governed at all; liberty to follow their own inventions, to live as they chose, and to have no one to call them to account. Therefore, down with the church! down with the state! and up with liberty, fraternity, and equality!

In treating of liberty in the sense of liberty of reason and will, the speaker showed the fallacy of the common notion that license is liberty carried to excess, and despotism authority so carried; and that liberty and license, authority and despotism, not only differ in *degree*, but in *kind*. Authority is the government of reason and will combined: despotism, the government of will alone. Authority is the government of law; that is, of will regulated by reason. For authority you want freedom of reason and will; but for despotism, only will, or in the last analysis, passion. Civil liberty, then, is the condition of a state in which law rules; despotism, of a state in which will governs,—the mere will, whether of one man, of a few men, or of many men. The government of the majority, of the minority, or of one man,—all these, when governments of mere

will, are inconsistent with liberty. He then proceeded to prove, by adducing historical facts, that the Catholic church has always been favorable to civil liberty; that she has always opposed the liberty of passion. She has always opposed absolute government, and said to kings and princes when they forgot themselves: Remember that you yourselves are subject to the King of kings and Lord of lords; that you hold your power from him; that your office is a trust to be discharged for the benefit of those committed to your rule, and if you use it to oppress them, you forfeit the right to govern and become tyrants, oppressors, no longer kings and rulers. And when they refused to yield to the claims of reason and justice, she did not hesitate to excommunicate them. The church opposed royal omnipotence: she is also opposed to popular or parliamentary omnipotence. She alone confers civil liberty, and in Protestant countries we find very little of it. Since the Reformation there has been less civil liberty in Europe than before; and since that event, men have been more free in the south and west of Europe than in the north.

The conclusions of the lecturer were neither flattering nor acceptable to the carnal Jews and gentiles who listened to them. If his conclusions were sound, and nobody pretended that they did not follow irresistibly from his premises, and if what he alleged to be facts, were really facts, the boasted progress and intelligence of the modern un-catholic world could be regarded only as false intelligence, worse than no intelligence at all, and a progress towards barbarism, if not arrested, destined to end in savagism. The secular and sectarian press, with one or two honorable exceptions, kept

up during the delivery of the lectures a continual fire against the lecturer and his assertions, and even sought to crush him beneath the weight of his own writings prior to his conversion, and which he had long since retracted. But this was not enough. The lectures were listened to by large numbers of the most respectable and influential classes of the city, with deep interest, almost with enthusiasm. Nowhere had the lecturer ever found a more intelligent audience, or been listened to with more manifest respect and sympathy. Something was necessary to be done to counteract the influence of his decidedly anti-Jewish and anti-gentile lectures. So, at their close, a number of anti-Catholic citizens of St. Louis invited Hugh A. Garland, a Virginian, and former admirer of Brownson's writings,* but at this time a resident of St. Louis, where he was endeavoring to restore by the practice of law the fortune he had lost in unsuccessful speculation, to deliver a course of lectures in reply to them, and to tell the people what they were to believe as to the compatibility of Protestantism with civilization. Garland accepted the invitation so far as to consent to give a course of lectures on the same subject, or at least some branches of it. During Brownson's visit at St. Louis, his relations with Garland were friendly and affectionate, as they had long been, and their intercourse was frequent and pleasant. In his lectures Garland alludes to Brownson only in the most complimentary terms, and nowhere professes to reply to him, or to do more than go over a part of the same ground in the light of Protestantism. As he sent a report of his

* See Brownson's Early Life, p. 308.

lectures to Brownson, the latter made them the subject of criticism in his Review for April, 1852,* in which, though giving the author credit for much reading, deep thought, and eloquent language, he condemns their confused, chaotic, and undigested character, and shows that they are illogical, inconsistent, and assert principles which overthrow his proposed thesis.

Brownson was very agreeably surprised at much that he saw and heard at St. Louis and during his trip thither and return. He heard more sound doctrine on government west of Cincinnati than he had ever heard discoursed before in his whole life, and he returned home with the conviction that the real hot-bed of radicalism and ultraism of all sorts was in New England, and the influences which were ruining the country, as far as they were indigenous, were exerted by New England and New Englanders. It was pretty manifest to him that the Southern states were, to a great extent, conservative and he found the great valley of the Mississippi less radical than he had supposed it to be. It was becoming pretty well understood in both those sections that radicalism, revolutionism, abolitionism, and fanaticism were all at bottom one and the same thing. It was a painful admission on his part, for he loved and honored Massachusetts. But he declared that the virtues of our Puritan ancestors lie buried with them in their graves, and only their vices, their errors, their objectionable qualities survive. In the free-soil and democratic coalition, he said, we had the spirit of German reformers and the old French convention, John Calvin and Jean Jacques Rousseau, combined. /

* Works, vol. x., p. 411.

In his return from St. Louis, Brownson delivered other lectures. The course at Baltimore was very similar to that at St. Louis, with the exception of the last lecture, which was on Kossuth. Soon after arrangements were made for his lectures in St. Louis, George Miles and T. Parkin Scott made arrangements for a course to be delivered in Baltimore. The formal invitation was sent on Dec. 13th, 1851, with a letter inclosed from the new Archbishop of Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, 12th Dec., 1851.

DEAR FRIEND:—Mr. Miles has just given me the gratifying intelligence that you will pass through this city on your way westward in some short time, and that you have consented to tarry a few evenings in order to deliver some lectures. It will gratify me much, and contribute, no doubt to promote truth and sound principles. You will find me the same sincere admirer and friend as when in the city of brotherly love.

Yours devotedly,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Archbishop Baltimore

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Miles also wrote:

BALTIMORE, December 13, 1851.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I have thought it better for form's sake, and in order that the correspondence may appear officially in the illustrious Catholic Mirror, to give our simple conversation the dignified invitation in which it will now reach you. The Archbishop says, "on your way westward." I shall explain

to him that it is on your way eastward from St. Louis. He only misunderstood me. Can't you lecture for us on this heathen *Kossuth* or *Kossack*?

The compensation, at least, \$100 per lecture; any surplus, of course, to you; but that guaranteed.

Yours most truly,

G. H. MILES.

On the inside page is written:

MY DEAR SIR:—Mrs. Scott has promised that she will have two rooms prepared, one for you, and the other for Dr. McCaffrey,—and he will meet you here. Do me the favor to let me know from you immediately.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

T. PARKIN SCOTT.

MR. BROWNSON.

BALTIMORE, 13 December, 1851.

Reaching his home in Chelsea at the end of January, Brownson devoted February and part of March to preparing the April number of his Review. As he was always anxious to have the Review in the hands of subscribers on this side of the Atlantic by the first day of each quarter, it was necessary that the last pages of what printers call "copy" should be in their hands a fortnight beforehand. During his absence his great friend, Roddan, had done much for the next number, but he was still further relieved by an unlooked for contribution from the President of Mt. St. Mary's College, who had so often hesitated to send anything of his own, though sincerely desirous of being useful. With his article McCaffrey sent the accompanying letter:

MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, March 8th, 1852.
O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR FRIEND:—I have not forgotten my almost obsolete promise to write something for your Review. Looking over an old essay or lecture on "Reason and Revelation," written in February, 1844, I thought it would do for a review. My greatest difficulty was to find the book to be reviewed. Luckily, my attention fell upon a volume of discourses by Ventura, the title of which I have prefixed to this article. This way of proceeding is, I have been told, conformable to the most approved practice of Reviewers. Not one syllable of my essay has been changed to suit it to the present purpose, except the necessary substitution of we for I, and striking out one or two short sentences. Not having had time to read the book reviewed, I could not say more of it than I have done at the close. By glancing at the table of contents, I perceived that it was, nevertheless, the book for my Review.

Now if you think what I send you worthy a place in your Quarterly, insert it—and if it spare you any labor, or give you any pleasure, I shall rejoice: if you think it will not do, burn it. I shall be content with either decision. Should you prefer to modify or remodel the thing, you are equally welcome to do that. My only object is to help and gratify you, if I can.

Should you choose to publish the essay or review, I must then ask you the favor, if it be compatible with your publisher's arrangements, to send me some eighty or a hundred copies of the paper containing it. The reason for the request is, that having some time last month read this same article as a lecture (*mutatis*

mutandis), I was called upon for a copy for publication. This I declined, but I then conceived the idea of giving it to you, and promised the applicants, should it be published to give them some copies.

I have addressed my communication according to your general direction—"To Brownson's Quarterly Review, Boston, Mass." So you will get a package with my name on the outside, by the same mail with this.

I hope the approaching council of bishops at Baltimore will draw you in this direction, and I hope moreover you will do us the pleasure of revisiting the mountain. I shall not go to Baltimore this spring, unless I be required for some purpose that I cannot now anticipate. Here you are always welcome, and your appearance will be greeted with particular pleasure by your sincere friend,

JOHN McCAFFREY.

James Sadlier, the Montreal publisher, being in Boston soon after Brownson's return from St. Louis, spoke about a course of lectures to be given in Montreal in April, and after his arrival home the invitation of the Catholic Institute was received and accepted.

The Catholic Institute of Canada exerted a powerful influence for good, by combining the efforts of Catholics to secure their political rights which were withheld in some instances, as in the matter of education in Upper Canada. In that province where the Catholics were reckoned at about 170,000, they supported Bishop de Charbonnel, of Toronto, whose struggle for separate schools was greatly aided by the unity of action among Catholics. The Catholic Institute of Toronto was

founded in August, 1852, and by the end of that year, there were twelve others in Upper Canada. That in Montreal was opened in 1850; that in Quebec in the autumn of 1851. They all received the approbation of the church authorities; gave their support to all proceedings to further the general interests of Catholics; labored by lectures, libraries, and mutual correspondence for the instruction of Catholics. Amusements, except cards, were allowed; local and party politics were excluded from discussion. The bishops were joined by the institutes in Lower Canada in petitions to the legislature of Upper Canada for separate schools entirely under Catholic control. The good accomplished by these societies in our neighborhood must cause regret that it has been impossible to unite the Catholics of the United States in support of purely Catholic interests. Brownson's lectures before the Montreal Institute being decided on, Sadlier wrote:

MONTREAL, 28 March, 1852.

DEAR SIR:—I received your note in reply to mine some days since. I am rejoiced, as well as all your friends that I have seen, that you have consented to deliver another course of lectures for us.

The committee of the Catholic Institute meet to-morrow afternoon to make preparations for the lectures. I suppose the subjects will be the same as you decided on when I was in Boston, that is, Why am I not a Protestant? and Why am I a Catholic?

I need not say how happy Mrs. S. and myself will be to have you and your daughter make your home with us during your stay.

Mrs. Donahoe* has written to say that she intends coming on with you.

We will advertise your first lecture for the 15th. Perhaps the secretary of the Institute may write you, if he has anything to communicate after the meeting. I do not know whether it will be necessary or not until it takes place. The Protestants begin to grumble a little at your coming. They have never forgiven you for your last course of lectures. I tell them you intend finishing them now completely.

Madam wishes to be kindly remembered to Mrs. B.
I am yours respectfully,

J. SADLIER.

On his way to Montreal, Brownson visited Capt. Tucker, Capt. Marryat the entertaining novel writer's brother-in-law, whose invitation is inserted here as introducing a matter of which a word should be said in passing.

BURLINGTON, Vt., April 8th, 1852.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:—I see by the Montreal papers that you are expected to deliver a course of lectures in that city during the present month. You may recollect a promise you made me when last we met, that you would at least pass the night with me, and if you find it consistent with your arrangements and your inclination I shall be most happy to receive a longer visit from you. Perhaps you might induce the Bishop to accompany you, and then we should stand a chance of passing the Easter holidays † in a legitimate manner,

* Wife of Patrick Donahoe, of Boston.

† Easter Sunday came on the 11th.

"with the benefit of clergy." * Besides this, I want to have a good laugh *at you* and *with you* over poor Father O'Callaghan's "greatest effort of the age," as he calls it. Some of the proof sheets I have. According to him, you are in a dreadful dilemma, finding fault with you for what you do *not* say, blaming you for what you omit to say which you have said, and condemning you for what you do say which are the words of other people. It is a remarkable instance of the justice of divine providence in permitting a man to make a fool of himself, relying on his own resources, prompted by a most rebellious will. I am fearful, however, that in this instance, a more worldly and a more sinful "animus" actuates him.

You will not retard your arrival at Montreal by staying the night with me, as the trains run no farther than St. Albans, and remain in St. A. for the cars next morning from Burlington. I recommend the Rutland-Burlington route in preference to the Vermont Central.

Hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, I remain with much respect,

Yours sincerely,

N. A. TUCKER.

The Reverend Jeremiah O'Callaghan's book, of which Tucker writes, was a good-sized 8-vo. volume entitled, "The Atheism of Brownson's Review." In it the author had collected pretty much every false and atheistic expression of the writers reviewed, and these

* The writer may or may not have understood the meaning of "Benefit of Clergy," but a misapprehension of the expression is so common that it seems a work of mercy to say here, that Benefit of Clergy was the exemption of clergymen from secular process. In England clergymen were all who could read, and capital punishment was, at a subsequent period, when clerical exemption from criminal processes was abrogated, commuted in case of clerics to branding.

he published as the doctrines of Brownson's Review, giving the page and volume where they were found. O'Callaghan was almost the only priest in the state of Vermont at this time, and was complained of by some of his parishioners to his Bishop, Fitzpatrick of Boston, for some of his peculiarities, one of which was his refusal to admit to the sacraments any one who received interest for the loan of money, the sinfulness of which he essayed to prove in a book against usury. Fitzpatrick did not have any priest he could conveniently send to replace him at the time, and soon after, De Goesbriand was nominated Bishop of Burlington, and the matter was left to him. He did nothing. As to the libel on Brownson's Review, Fitzpatrick said Brownson had criticised others, and it was only fair that he should be criticised himself. With great mental and moral gifts, Fitzpatrick's want of bodily health deprived him of activity in the government of his diocese, where things were allowed to run very much as they might.

After finishing his course of lectures, Brownson consented to prolong his stay in Montreal, at the request of the Catholic Institute, in order to deliver, for the benefit of that society, a lecture upon the policy of Louis Napoleon. This lecture was given in the Bon-Secours Market, April 29th.

He began by saying that he felt his position, as an American citizen, called upon to speak on such an exciting topic, before British subjects, as a very delicate one. He hoped that he might be able to treat the subject without giving offence to the loyalty of his audience; and at the same time, without making any concessions unworthy of a citizen of that great republic

of which he was proud to call himself a citizen. As a Catholic, and from a Catholic point of view, would he approach the subject, and should therefore avoid offending either the loyal or national feelings of any of his auditors.

After asserting that the best form of government is that which legally exists in any country, which has grown with the people's growth, sprung from their interior life, the speaker contended that obedience is always due to the legal government, and rebellion against it is sinful and unlawful. The object for which government was constituted was the good of the governed, and only when laboring for that end were governments fulfilling their lawful functions. When they neglected, or acted in violation of these, governments ceased to be legal, and if no other means of obtaining redress exist, resistance to them is certainly lawful, because they have degenerated into despotisms, and it is lawful to resist despotism. By this he did not mean that the individual had the right to stand up and pronounce a government illegal. Governments must be presumed to be in the right, unless the individual can appeal to some higher authority than his own caprice or private judgment.

The lecturer passed in review the events which had occurred in Europe since February, 1848, and compared the state of Europe at that epoch with its state in November, '51. The beginning of the reaction against revolutionism he dated from Windischgrätz's action at Prague in the summer of 1848; it was continued by Radetzky's defeat of Charles Albert's revolutionary hosts in Italy; but it did not commence

in France till the inauguration of the Prince-President; for Cavaignac merely tampered with revolution and the passions of the rabble until the Assembly made him virtually the dictator. Louis Napoleon proclaimed peace, disavowed all intentions of revolutionary propaganda, and checked the spread of dangerous doctrines in France; on all occasions he showed himself the friend of religion, of education, of law and order; and that peace was preserved throughout Europe during the eventful years of 1849, '50, and '51, was owing more to Louis Napoleon than to any other man in Europe; and a debt of gratitude is due him from every friend of law and order, and of liberty, which cannot exist without law and order. Still he was only able to maintain a truce, for it could hardly be called peace, and by the end of 1851, it was evident that the government of France could no longer effect its purpose. The great want of France was a strong executive. The constant squabbles betwixt the president and the assembly, daily becoming more serious, threatened, sooner or later, an open rupture in which the triumph of the legislature would be the immediate signal for civil war. The president proved himself equal to the emergency, and by his *coup d'état* of the 2d December rescued society from the catastrophe with which it was threatened. The speaker did not pretend to be a prophet, or to predict what would be the president's future course. He hoped, but he feared also, for power is dangerous to the possessor, and it is so easy to find pretexts for grasping more. Louis Napoleon's relations with the church and his behavior towards her had been unexceptionable, but it was not impossible that he might adopt

measures which she would feel called upon to condemn and to oppose; but, the lecturer said in conclusion, "Let us accept the good that he has done, suspend our judgment for the future; and applaud him in so far as he has pursued, and continues to pursue, the path of truth and justice, law and order."

CHAPTER XII.

THE MERCERSBURG SCHOOL.—THE TRACTARIAN SCHOOL.

IN his first article on "The Development Theory," in July, 1846, Brownson showed the very remarkable affinity between John H. Newman's theory and Professor Philip Schaff's.* Schaff was a young man, lately from Berlin, with superior abilities, attached to the German Reformed Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, Pa. His fundamental principles were nearly the same as Newman's, though stated with greater clearness and distinctness, and he logically concluded in favor of Protestantism whilst Newman came to the opposite conclusion.

Schaff's book, from which Brownson quoted, was called "The Principle of Protestantism in its Relation to the Present State of the Church," and he was understood by Schaff to intimate a purpose of discussing the Mercersburg movement at greater length. Schaff accordingly wrote to Brownson in that connection, as follows:

* Works, vol. xiv, p. 10.

MERCERSBURG, Pa., the 8th of Feb. 1847.

DEAR SIR—I see from the last number of your periodical, p. 128, that you intend to say something of the movement that is in progress among the Reformed Germans in Pennsylvania. At the same time I judge from your article on Newman's Theory of Development, that you have probably not seen yet our publications succeeding the "Principle of Protestantism."* During the last year Dr. Nevin, my worthy colleague, has published a very valuable book on the Eucharist, under the title "The Mystical Presence, a Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic View on the Eucharist," Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. The same publishers issued a small treatise of mine: "What is Church History, a Vindication of the Theory of Organic Development." Mr. Lippincott was ordered, I think, to send you a copy of both works, but probably has not done so. He was rather unfortunate with our publications, inasmuch as they seem not to have circulated where we should like to have them circulate most, in New England. Probably some bookseller in Boston keeps some copies, but they have not been announced, as far as my knowledge goes. I have just no copies on hand, else I would forward them to you immediately.

We are convinced that the subjects treated in these works are worthy of a thorough discussion, although we best know at the same time that they have been by us treated in a very imperfect manner. The resolutions of our synod sustaining us thus far against our opponents, have, of course, not settled the question

* See Works, vol. xiv, p. 10, where the identity of Schaff's theory and Newman's is pointed out.

scientifically. All we wish is a fair and earnest discussion in order to bring out the truth and nothing but the truth for the benefit of Christ's Church. Now I judge from the general character of your Review that you would write a more careful and elaborate article on these subjects than I generally meet in the Protestant press of this country. But the mere "Principle of Protest." and my little address on Dante would not enable you to do justice to yourself and the subject. I therefore respectfully ask you to put yourself in the possession of said works, before you write the intended article, at least of Dr. Nevin's book, where you will find some hard things about Puritanism, which perhaps may arrest your attention.

Excuse the liberty I have thus taken, although personally unknown to you. I read your Quarterly with much interest, and although our positions, of course, are very different, I am too much convinced of the shallowness of much of our present Protestantism, not to see the force of many of your arguments.

I am, dear sir, respectfully yours,

PHILIP SCHAF.

As some time had elapsed without Brownson recurring to the Mercersburg movement, owing partly to the embarrassing position in which he found himself of admitting the theory on which Schaff and Nevin defended their Protestantism, or renewing the assault on the theory as upheld by nearly all the Catholics of Great Britain,* Dr. Nevin started the controversy

* I may as well say plainly as obscurely hint that in my opinion English-Speaking Catholics are very apt to carry into religion the principle by which their countrymen here and abroad, have succeeded so marvelously in business operations, to look mainly to "what pays." The defence of developmentism on the ground that, if it was not altogether orthodox, it

with an article on Brownson in the Mercersburg Review for January, 1850. The article was ably written, in a tone and spirit as creditable to the writer as acceptable to his opponent. With rare fairness and candor he endeavored to state Brownson's arguments for the church correctly and to urge only grave and solid matter against them. He concedes at the outset that, those arguments are conclusive against popular Protestantism, taking private judgment, with or without the Bible, as the rule of faith; and that the Protestantism which he has attacked, whether called high-church or low-church, Presbyterianism or Methodism, and which has no reply to make but cant and sophistry, is and long has been the dominant form of Protestantism, and the only form that has been set forth prominently as the rival of Catholicity. But, he contended, there is a higher doctrine than either Protestantism or Catholicity which if Brownson had known and appreciated, he would not, in rejecting rationalism or Unitarianism, have gone to the opposite extreme, abandoning private judgment for authority, instead of seeking and finding the doctrine which reconciles and preserves both. To this Brownson replied that the doctrine proposed is in sub-

made converts, is an indication of the view taken too often by those in England and by the corresponding school lately condemned in this country. How little care is taken to preserve the integrity of faith is every little while evident in a most patent manner. Not long since, when Leo XIII published an encyclical "On the Condition of Workingmen," a translation, said to have been made by one of the best-known bishops of Great Britain, was circulated throughout this country by the authority of our bishops, in which the Pope is made to say that all men are by nature children of God and heirs to the kingdom of heaven, and I never heard of anyone objecting to this denial of Christianity. In this very month that I write this (June, 1899) the Jesuits recite daily in public, in their church here, and I presume elsewhere, too, a litany of the Sacred Heart which they say has been approved by the Holy Father, containing these words: "Heart of Jesus, substantially united to the Word of God, have mercy on us" : and they claim to have distributed about four thousand printed copies of it in their parish.

stance, though not in all its details, the same which he advocated in 1842-1843, and established his Review expressly to explain, propagate, and defend.

"The attempt to reconcile private liberty," he answers, "and public authority did not escape us. This reconciliation in a supposed higher doctrine than either Catholicity or Protestantism was the precise problem with which we were engaged for the ten or twelve years next preceding our conversion. The attempt to get a satisfactory solution of this problem is the key to all our writings and sermonizing during that long period, and no greater mistake can be committed than to suppose that, even when we were a Unitarian, we accepted in theory, however closely we may have followed it in practice, the Protestant rule of private judgment. We never, after 1832, and before that we were too young to be of any account, adopted individualism, but uniformly opposed it, and contended, as our published writings bear witness, for a Catholic authority both in church and state, although we erred grievously as to its seat and constitution. Indeed, if there is a single problem that we have studied with any degree of thoroughness, it is this very problem which our Mercersburg friend accuses us of having neglected, namely, the reconciliation of the so-called rights of the individual mind with legitimate public authority. At no period after we began to be known as a Unitarian were we any more prepared to give up authority than we were to give up liberty; or when, if it should appear that we could not retain both, and that one or the other must be sacrificed, we would not have sacrificed liberty rather than authority. It shows no little want of acquaintance with our

personal history, and a gross misapprehension of our published writings, to assert that we went in our conversion from extreme rationalism to Catholicity, or from extreme individualism to authority. We went to the church from a theory which was invented to retain them both, and to reconcile them systematically and really one with the other.

"We may not have exhausted all possible theories for the reconciliation of liberty and authority,—in the reviewer's language, 'the liberty of the individual subject with the binding force of the universal object,'—but we were not ignorant of 'the new religious principle and theory' which he proposes, and which he says 'the case demanded for its solution.' If we understand him, he advances little that cannot be found, in substance, in our publications prior to our conversion, and if we did not know that the theory had been advocated by several eminent German authors, and that it was entertained by him, in part, at least, at as early a day as by ourselves, we should be half tempted to suspect him of having plagiarized it from our own writings. Of course, we are far from pretending that we set it forth with the systematic fulness and consistency, or with the philosophic depth of thought, the various learning, and the clearness and vigor of expression, with which he does, for in these respects we readily confess our inferiority; but we did set it forth in its principles, and in what he has said we have found nothing that has taken us by surprise, or with which we do not seem to ourselves to have been tolerably familiar. Whether true or false, adequate or inadequate, we are greatly deceived if the theory has not once been ours, and if we have

abandoned it, we must still be treated with some leniency, since the reviewer winds up his article against us, by virtually conceding, with a candor that does him honor, that, after all, it is rather a statement than a solution of the difficulty." *

Nevin's objections to Brownson's argument for Catholicity were that it made Christianity, as the supernatural object of faith, objective, not subjective; placed the supernatural above the sphere of the natural; and made faith, in so far as subjective, the mediate, instead of the immediate apprehension of the matter believed. His view of faith he expresses to be the direct and immediate communication of our nature with the higher world, in virtue of its original capacity. The power is in us by nature; Christianity is only the influence which calls it into exercise. He denies that Christianity is a supernatural revelation of truth or doctrine to the human mind, and asserts it is but the expression of the thought of believers. In the realization of Christianity itself, in the constitution of the law, the mind of the believer is active and autonomous. Consequently, there is no conflict of private judgment and religious authority, for the latter is made identical with the former. Consequently, also, there must be a constant growth or development of Christian doctrine, as the minds of believers grow and develop in their conception or apprehension of the higher world and their expression of such conception. He sees the hand of God in Protestantism; for even supposing that it "is destined to prove a failure, still it would be in the highest degree unphilosophical and irrational to deny

* Works, vol. iii., p. 52.

its significance, at least in this point of view, as the medium of the transition of the church to a better and brighter state, that could not have been reached without such a period of inward contradiction going before."

The Mercersburg Reviewer's arguments and objections were discussed in all their important details in Brownson's Review for April, 1850; * and in the Mercersburg Review for the May following, Nevin returns to the argument in the same excellent tone which was remarked in his first article; but in trying to explain his doctrine in such manner as to do away with the objections that it denies the matter of faith and of all truth to be such except by the act of the mind, and that it is pantheistic, he seems only to involve himself deeper and deeper in the mire. This Brownson proves in his reply in his Review for July of the same year.† The two articles here mentioned on the Mercersburg theology, gave occasion to their author to explain some very elementary notions which were usually misunderstood by contemporaneous writers, who, since the prevalence of the modern psychological theory in philosophy, which starts from the subject alone as the principle of science, tend logically to subjectivism. As there is no possible transit from the subject to the object, or from the object to the subject, except by making them identical; whoever proceeds from either alone must deny the other, or assert both at the expense of logic. The only philosophy which conforms to the order of knowledge as well as to that of reality, starts with both subject and object in their real relation and synthesis. An error of Brownson's,

* Works, vol. iii, p. 51. † Works, vol. iii, p. 90.

which frequently occurred in his writings until a year or two later than this period, was the mistake of confounding supernatural and superintelligible; for as he afterwards explained, much that is natural is superintelligible.

Nevin's developmentism was very much the same in theory as that of the English converts from Tractarianism; only in applying his principle he found that the development of Christian doctrine was not in the direction of Catholicity, but rather of German Reformed Calvinism. Aside from the philosophical errors he had fallen into, in common with nearly all his contemporaries, Nevin made the mistake of the Tractarians in endeavoring to draw their knowledge of Christianity directly from the early writers of the Christian church. The Christian doctrine is there, sure enough, but not so easily discerned by one who leaps backward over sixteen or eighteen centuries, as by one who travels the road back with his eyes open and observing every mile-post. The present age does not understand, or at least, does not feel at home in the midst of the scholastic theology of the 13th century; but it can hardly appreciate the teaching of the early fathers without the training of the middle ages in distinctness and exactness of thought and expression. It would have been of great use to Nevin to have gone through the necessary training before his study of the Fathers; but in spite of his lack of that, his essays in the Mercersburg Review on the *Apostles' Creed*, *Primitive Christianity*, the *Incarnation*, and *St. Cyprian*, are among the most remarkable and profound in our language.

Believing that the Incarnation is the central fact of Christianity, from which all that is distinctively Christian radiates, he began to detect a significance in the sacraments, and to regard them as the means by which we are brought into living union with the life of the Word-made-flesh. Following out this with rare erudition and invincible logic, he found himself forced to accept the Catholic theory, so to speak, of the church with its priesthood. Brownson, thinking he was deterred from entering the church, on the threshold of which he was lingering, by timidity, by mental habits, by associations, or by not finding Catholics in their practice coming up to what he considered a proper standard, attempted to help him and to urge him on by private exhortation.

Nevin's explanation of the state of his mind is very candidly given in reply to a letter from Brownson:

MERCERSBURG, August 18, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your friendly communication of the 9th inst. is thankfully acknowledged. I am glad to know that you and others in the Catholic Church take an interest in my welfare and pray for my conversion to what you consider to be the truth; for it is my own daily cry to God and to his Son Jesus Christ, that if this way of yours be in fact the glorious vision which gladdened the hearts of saints in the beginning, it may not remain hidden to me, as it is “to them who are lost,” but that I may have power “before I go hence and be no more,” fully to see it and courageously to acknowledge it before the world. Some Protestants are praying for me too in their way. All round I have no objection to this; and I may add that I would most

gladly enjoy also the intercession of the Saints in the other world, and particularly of the Blessed Virgin, if such benefit be at all possible for the exiled children of Eve in this valley of tears.

My article on Cyprianic Christianity I have meant to be mainly historical; though it breathes throughout, I know, a strong sympathy with its subject over against the reigning Protestant theory of the church at the present time. In my next article, already in type, the matter is made still worse by the admission that this Cyprianic doctrine was not peculiar to him or to the third century, but goes far back to the time of the Apostolical Fathers, and underlies the whole structure of the church. You ask how I can set this in any rational harmony with the cause of the Reformation. My answer is, frankly, I see not how it can be done in a fully satisfactory way, and it is no part of my plan or purpose to attempt anything of the sort. My object is merely to hold up facts, to bring home, if possible, to others, the actual difficulty of the case, to challenge, as it were, an explanation, from whatever quarter it may come. My own position is that of an anxious inquirer, far more than that of a dogmatic teacher. I write generally, indeed, under no inconsiderable pressure and pain of spirit.

My Protestantism, you will see thus, is of the poorest sort. I am no longer fit for the defence of the interests in any vigorous style. For this reason, any controversy of a public sort in its behalf, either with yourself or any other champion of Romanism, ought to be in other hands. I find so much of truth and right on your side, and so much of falsehood and wrong on

ours as usually held, that I have no heart for any controversy of the sort, and dread being betrayed by it into the misery of making common cause with principles and tendencies which all good Protestants, no less than Catholics, are bound to oppose and hate.

If Protestantism is to be upheld, it is only in view of its being the historical succession of what Christianity was in ancient times—a Providential development, not without necessary violence, which is to be regarded as itself only a process still (not by any means pleasant) towards a better state of things to come. It would be much, if our American thinking could be forced to see and feel this alternative. You will observe, that I do not venture of late to commit my own mind to it with any absolute assertion. It is presented only hypothetically. *If* our cause may stand, *then* it must be in this general way and no other.

But all this negative difficulty with Protestantism is no positive conversion to Catholicism. I wish at times it were so, and that it were possible for me to be fully and firmly assured, that this in its modern form carries in it still the powers and privileges claimed by the Early Church. If asked at the same time to say precisely what considerations stand in the way of such an acknowledgment, I find it not easy to return any clear answer. The difficulty rises sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another. Where a whole habit of thought, kept up for many years, is to be set aside, in favor of another, altogether different, it becomes very hard to distinguish between intellectual conviction and the force of mere custom as such. My general posture is not so much that of any distinct issue with Catholi-

cism, the solution of which might carry the whole question for my understanding, as it is one rather of inability to bring the question to any such issue, a state of perplexity and doubt which I am not prepared yet to bring to an end.

I shall look with interest for your promised article on the Virgin Mary. I read Liguori's not long since; but it only troubled me; he carries the matter so far; and his "examples" are often so extravagant. If the worship of the Virgin be so necessary,—the medium, some say, of *all* grace to the world—why do we not find it in Cyprian and the fathers of the second century?

Has there been a *growth* of doctrine here? You deny development in Dr. Newman's sense, but what is to be made then of the caution shown now, in bringing in the article of the immaculate conception? If it has always been part of the explicit faith, why any hesitation or question about its proclamation at this time? This I offer as a mere specimen of my difficulties. Another is found in the supposed degradation of some Catholic countries, Sicily, for instance, and parts of Italy. The force of this objection has been somewhat broken, indeed, in my mind, but still I cannot shake it off entirely.

With sincere regard yours,

J. W. NEVIN.

O. A. BROWNSON, BOSTON.

Brownson replied to Nevin's letter August 23rd, 1852. His observation on the devotion of Catholics to the Blessed Virgin Mary are worth considering as a very succinct exhibition of Catholic doctrine. As to the work of St. Alphonsus on the Glories of Mary, he

always tried to defend it. It is, however, beginning to be thought that it would have been just as well if that holy doctor's books had never circulated beyond the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Brownson wrote in part:

"I have read with great interest and much satisfaction your very kind and confiding letter of the 18th inst. The account you give me of your present position and state accords perfectly with what I had supposed, and gives me good hope that ere long you will be relieved from your present perplexities, and have no doubt as to the truth of the Catholic Church as it is. In the meantime I see no better or more proper course for you than the one you are pursuing. You are praying for more light, and acting according to the light you have, which is all you can do, and your articles are helping onward the cause of truth.

"I can understand perfectly your state of mind toward us, for it has once been my own. There are many things in the church as imperfectly seen and understood by even well-disposed persons outside, that seem strange and not free from objection, and which would seem equally so to us within if we had not the key to their real significance and were able to see them in another light. I can easily understand the difficulties such a work as St. Liguori's Glories of Mary must create in the mind of a well-disposed inquirer, and I myself am not able always to find his language such as suits my colder and more languid piety, although I am never disturbed by any difficulty in reconciling it with dogmatic truth. The worship of Mary, however, is reducible to two or three very simple points. In the

first place, it is the simple veneration we pay to all saints according to their rank and dignity, and this veneration has its reason in the fitness of reverencing the grace of God, by which they are saints, in its effects as in its principle, in the stream as well as in the fountain. It is in reality only the overflowing of the love we have for the Redeemer, flowing over from him upon all the redeemed. Of course, as we hold Mary the highest in the hierarchy of saints, we pay her the highest veneration which we can pay to any creature. In the second place, we pay a peculiar honor to Mary as the Mother of God, because in so doing, we express firmly our faith in the Incarnation, and honor that mystery. As the Son of God was made flesh from her womb, from her flesh, she has an intimate connection with that mystery, therefore with our redemption, and as so connected we honor her as we can honor no other creature, and the honor we render her redounds, and is intended to redound, to the honor of the Incarnation.

"The Catholic doctrine is that Mary did not become the Mother of God without her own free consent, and that by this consent she concurred in the mystery of the Incarnation, and therefore in the mystery of Redemption and the salvation of mankind. This will explain to you a large class of expressions which you will meet with in our authors. As it was only by the Incarnation in her womb that grace flowed to us, and as this Incarnation was not without her voluntary concurrence, she is said, and truly said, to be the only medium through which the graces which flow from the Incarnation flow to mankind. I think you will find a key here to many of the difficulties you encounter.

Another point to be considered is the true filial relation, that through the Incarnation was created between the Son and the Mother. This relation was real, for Christ was true man, really born of the flesh of the Virgin, and was as much Mary's Son as any son is the son of his mother. That relation, too, is and must be an abiding, an everlasting relation."

To believe Schaff and Nevin, the reformers of the sixteenth century never separated from the life-stream of Christianity, which, springing from Christ, had coursed uninterruptedly through the Catholic Church until the sixteenth century, and from that time on in some one, or all, of the sects; and one may well ask, if their theory be accepted, why they are not, like Newman's Montanists, merely anticipating the church, bringing out and insisting upon certain aspects of truth before the church has reached them in the regular course of development. During the three or four years that had elapsed since his articles on Newman's theory of development, Brownson had only incidentally referred to that theory. But early in 1852 he received a copy of the Reverend John Brande Morris's "Jesus, the Son of Mary," for criticism. The recent conversion of the author, his evident Catholic intentions and general correctness might, to some extent, protect him against personal reproach for some unsoundness of doctrine; but they could be no reasons why that unsoundness should not be pointed out and condemned. It was all the more important to do this, for that unsoundness belonged not to that author alone, but to a school of which he was a member. That school, though founded outside of the church, in the bosom of

Anglicanism, by the conversion of its founders, was in danger of being brought within the church. Its doctrine appeared to be the ground on which the founders of the school renounced Anglicanism, and they seemed to fancy that they could still adhere to it, and as Catholics set forth and defend it. From their talents, learning, and piety, they exerted no small influence on our Catholic literature, and, if not resisted in the outset, might build up among us another school like the Hermesian in Germany or the Lamennaisian in France. The age was fond of novelties, given to speculation, to theorizing, and predisposed to the reception especially of a theory which promised to remove difficulties in the way of what was assumed to be truth, and to facilitate the conversion of those assumed to be in error. The Catholic population undoubtedly shared, to some extent, in the tendencies of the age, and was more or less affected by what is called the spirit of the times, and if an opportunity was offered them of combining reverence for religion, zeal for the salvation of men, with the love of novelty, there were many among them who would not readily let it pass. It became therefore a duty, at the risk of misconstruction and personal odium for the Catholic Reviewer, if the post he occupied was not exactly self-assumed, to expose the dangerous novelty, faithfully, and, if need be, with severity.

It may, perhaps, appear a little remarkable, that Brownson rarely, if ever, reviewed a publication by one of the converted Puseyites without finding more or less fault with it. His undisguised contempt for Puseyism, which he considered the least rational of all the

irrational forms of Protestantism, no doubt, tended to prejudice him against a class of converts, who coming into the fold of the church announced that they brought their Protestantism with them; only, they clothed it over with Catholicity, as Newman said speaking of himself. There is, moreover, in every real American a natural dislike of what we term the "insular arrogance" of the English, who look upon themselves as the standard by which all others are to be measured. The English nature is practical, grasping, overbearing, and applied to the acquisition of material wealth and power succeeds beyond that of any nation of the present age; but when they enter the higher regions of thought, their want of the power of logical reasoning becomes apparent. From Hamilton and Mansell, Huxley and Spencer, to Newman and Morris, Brownson said he found hardly one, if even one, who did not attempt to construct a syllogism without a major premise, or else without a middle term. This logical deficiency is not common in the continental countries of Europe, nor even in the United States, except where it is assumed by or imposed upon those who are bent on overthrowing the truths of religion or sapping the foundations of social order.

The conformed Puseyites, moreover, wrote with narrow and local views, in reference to a particular state of things in their own country and a small number of persons immediately around them; not in reference to the spirit of the age and the great bulk of the uncatholic world. They lived in an insular world of their own, a peculiar world, one which is nowhere else to be found, and of which it is not easy for

a stranger to form a just conception. They adopted a line of argument, and used a language which they supposed best adapted to its peculiar mental habits and tastes, and which seemed fitted for the moment to win minds and hearts to the church, without any thought to the sense which would be given to their words when read out of that narrow circle, or the embarrassments they might occasion to those who, on this side of the water, for instance, were like them engaged in the great combat against heresy and infidelity. England was all the world to them, and the Tractarians were all England. Writing with this insular view, with sole reference to the peculiarities of these Tractarians, in a language which, though in its vocabulary common to them and us, is in its sense peculiar to the Tractarian school, it would not be strange if they were sometimes misapprehended, and supposed to be asserting as absolute truth, as truth for all countries and all times, what they themselves regard as only truth in England, and even there only for the present moment.

Brownson strove to convince his insular friends that truth on an island is truth on the continent, and that no principles which are unsound on the continent, or which are un-Christian in America, can really serve to advance Catholicity in the Island of Great Britain. Different arguments according to the diversities of time and place, are no doubt lawful, and even necessary; but all our arguments, however diverse, should rest on a principle which is universally true. He did not complain that English Catholics used arguments in defence of Catholicity or against Protestantism which he did not think of any use here; but he did complain of

them when they used arguments which, though temporarily advantageous there, were yet false in principle, and extremely embarrassing here. He complained of the American Catholic who, to recommend his church to his countrymen, contended that she is democratic, because that is not true in fact, and must embarrass every Catholic living under a monarchy. Just so he complained of those Catholic controversialists abroad who sought to recommend her to their governments by showing that she favors monarchy, for that as far as it goes, outlawed us. It was easy to avoid both difficulties, by simply adhering to the strict truth, namely, the church supports the legally established order of all countries, therefore republicanism here, for that is the legal order, and therefore monarchy where monarchy is the legal order. We should not only defend the truth, but always seek to defend truth with truth, for error will always be found a poor support of truth, and truth is of no time or place, but of all.

It must be confessed, then, that Brownson read the productions of the converted Tractarians with the presumption against them, and held them unsound wherever they did not give conclusive evidence to the contrary. This, perhaps, was a chief reason why his judgment was often less favorable to them than was that of many other Catholics. No doubt, this rule is the reverse of that which is usually insisted upon, and it is one that should by no means be ordinarily adopted with regard to Catholic writers; but it strikes me as the only safe rule to be adopted with regard to the writings of men converted at a mature age. I hold that the writings of every recent convert, including Brown-

son himself in the number of recent converts, should be read with the presumption against him, at least, till he has given full assurance of his having thoroughly divested himself of his whole heretical or unbelieving life. Conversion, in spite of Newman's assertion to the contrary, is a double process, and consists in putting off the old as well as in putting on the new man,—in unlearning error as well as in learning truth. Now the process of unlearning is the most difficult of all, and often we find converts who have unlearned nothing, and have merely added the Catholic dogmas to their previous Protestantism. In stating the express dogmas and definitions of faith they will be full and exact, but the moment they undertake to explain them, that is, show their relation one to another and to human science in general, or construct the *science* of theology, they reproduce their former life, and give us the most grave and subversive errors. They will not formally deny the faith, but in matters not immediately of faith, they will lay down principles and maintain conclusions wholly incompatible with faith.* This often happens with Catholic authors who are not converts, especially with those who have been brought up in a Protestant community and formed intellectually by the reading of Protestant literature. But it happens far oftener to converts who come into the church only at an adult age.

This, which is likely to happen to a greater or less extent with all converts, was more especially so in the

* It is intended in a later volume to touch, at least in passing, on a school in the United States, in many respects the counterpart of the developmentist school in England; but as I may by that time find this work swelling to too great bulk to repeat in reference to the so-called "Americanists," what I say here, the reader is begged to remember and apply it there.

case of the converted Tractarians. Those converts formed a peculiar school before their conversion, and came into the church as a school, retaining not a few of their Tractarian peculiarities. They were all nice men, very highly cultivated and refined, and had probably always been strictly moral men. They did not appear to have come to the church because oppressed with the burthen of sin, because they wished her saving waters to quench the flames of hell, already kindled in their bosom; they did not appear to have come to her that they might have life, but that they might have it more abundantly. They appeared to have come to the church chiefly for æsthetic and intellectual reasons; not because they could not attain to sanctity in the establishment, where they were, but because they could not satisfy their tastes and intellectual wants, nor attain to *heroic* sanctity out of the church. They came, apparently, not that they might commence and live the Christian life, but that they might continue that life begun in the establishment and live it in its perfection. They therefore only continued their Tractarian life under new and more favorable auspices. Consequently, they looked upon Catholicity simply as the complement of Tractarianism morally and intellectually. Their conversion was simply the aggregation of Catholicity to Tractarianism, or the grafting of certain Catholic dogmas and rites upon Anglicanism. Hence they thought and wrote as they had done before, saving they accepted certain things which then they had rejected. Not supposing they had anything to unlearn, not remembering that they were to begin anew as little children, they took their historic and patristic reading

prior to their conversion as correct, and instead of revising it, and interpreting history and the fathers by the light of Catholic faith and theology, they simply invented theories to explain difficulties which have no existence to the Catholic, and which never existed save in the imagination of heretics.

This mistake of supposing that all that is requisite to conversion is to be "clothed upon" with Catholicity, is one into which converts from Anglicanism are peculiarly liable to fall. Anglicanism, especially in the Tractarian form, has certain resemblances to Catholicity which deceive many, and often lead the Anglican to imagine that it is Catholicity as far as it goes; that it and the Catholic Church start from the same point, are identical in principle; and differ only in the fact that the one enjoins more, and the other less. Hence the convert from Anglicanism looks generally upon his former life simply as defective, not as wrong in principle, but simply as falling short of the standard of perfection. He supposes every Anglican has or may have as an Anglican, if he is in good faith, enough of positive Christian virtue to save him. But Brownson regarded all this as a mistake. The Anglican establishment is not merely a schismatical church, but it is no church at all; for it has no priesthood, as the church herself teaches in denying the validity of Anglican orders, and treating the Anglican bishops and ministers as simple laymen. The truth is, Anglicanism and Catholicity do not differ merely as more or less, but as two radically distinct and eternally irreconcilable systems; they lie in different orders, start from different principles, and lead to opposite conclusions. They are

separated by a broad and deep gulph over which there is no natural bridge. No doubt, the Tractarian converts received many graces while in the Anglican establishment, but they were graces to bring them out of it into the church that they might begin and live the Christian life, not to enable them to begin and live that life in that establishment. They no doubt, as they boasted, practised many virtues at Littlemore and elsewhere; but they were no more the distinctive Christian virtues than are the virtues often practised by the Quakers, or than were the virtues practised by many of the ancient heathen. Nothing is to be concluded in favor of an heretical communion from the apparent virtue of some of its members; for the higher class of purely human virtues are not easily distinguished externally from many of the Christian virtues, and Satan can, no doubt, go to great lengths in enabling one to simulate the virtues, the affections, and even the raptures of the Christian. The art of discerning spirits is not possessed by every one, and is not acquired at will. The fact is, the Tractarian no more lived the Christian life in his Tractarianism than does a Unitarian or a Mormon, and conversion in his case, as much as in theirs, implies a change of life in its very principles, the commencement, not the perfection of the Christian life. This fact the Tractarian converts overlooked on their coming into the church and hence they assumed the airs of full grown men, instead of humbling themselves as little children, and gave us for Catholicity a strange compound of Tractarian philosophy and Catholic dogma. Hence the Reviewer was fully justified in regarding their works with distrust, and giving them an uncatholic interpre-

tation, whenever the language used did not necessarily demand a Catholic sense.

I speak of the converted Puseyites as they appeared to Brownson in the writings they published immediately after their reception into the church; I am far from alleging that my remarks could be justly applied to many of them a few years later. It was great damage that they did not put off their Protestant philosophy and speculations before they put on Catholicity; but the greater part of them were gradually divesting themselves of their Tractarianism. Newman's later publications breathe a far more Catholic spirit than did his *Essay on Development*, and retain only faint traces of his peculiar theory, just enough to show that he had not rejected or essentially modified it, without, however, wishing to obtrude it on the church. Doubtless, he owed it to Brownson, to himself, and to the public either distinctly to disavow that theory or else to relieve it of the very grave objections which were urged against it; but absolute perfection was not to be expected even in Newman. He, no doubt, found the theory very convenient in dealing with a certain class of Protestants immediately around him, and did not trouble himself with the embarrassment its standing before the public with the sanction of his name after he was a priest, a doctor, and the superior of a clerical community, might cause those dealing with other and far more numerous classes of Protestants, or the injury it might do to the faith of thousands who cared as little for Anglicanism as Brownson himself.

The Oxford converts also failed to commend themselves to the Reviewer in consequence of their

undeniably retaining the false philosophy in which they had been educated. Unless they use their and our mother tongue in a sense at least unusual in this country, they adopted a system of philosophy which is at best only a disguised Kantism, and which really recognizes no objective truth. In Newman's productions and those of all his school with the exception, perhaps, of two or three, it seems to be laid down as an axiom that truth is relative, or at least depends solely for its form on the human mind, and would wear a different form if our minds were differently constituted. This, if it does not absolutely discard all objective truth, at least denies all objective certainty, and necessarily reduces the infallibility of faith to a mere subjective infallibility, a doctrine wholly incompatible with Catholic theology. Evidence, in their view, except demonstrative evidence, never gives certainty; the most it can establish is a high degree of probability. Discarding certainty from all but mathematical reasoning, they seek to establish merely the fit, the congruous, not the necessary. Their great reliance in reasoning is on the argument from congruity, and the nexus they recognize between the premises and the conclusion is that of fitness, not that of necessity. This logic, transferred to morals, substitutes the Greek *vōμος* for the Latin *lex*, and makes the basis of morality the fit, not the obligatory. Hence there is a certain vagueness in all their teachings, an indecision in their statements, and an inconclusiveness in their reasonings. They seldom state and establish a thesis, seldom leave it certain what is their real meaning, and very often leave it doubtful whether they have any distinct and positive meaning at all.

Besides the faults common to all the school, the Reviewer complained of many more, peculiar to Morris's volumes. His review of Morris was published in July, 1852, and was the occasion of Newman's breaking his long silence for the first time in connection with his theory. It was not, however, to defend, explain, or disavow his doctrine; but to complain that a personal attack had been made on him by the article, and that it was only by a layman, not by a Doctor of Theology. Brownson replied by a letter to the Dublin Tablet, the journal in which he had read Newman's letter. He wrote:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN TABLET.

BOSTON, October 15th, 1852.

DEAR SIR:—A friend has called my attention to a note in your paper of the 18th of September last, from the Very Rev. Dr. Newman, to which I beg you to permit me to offer a brief reply, as it has been called forth by some remarks in my Review which you were so obliging as to copy into your excellent journal.

Of the tone and temper of Dr. Newman's note, and the severe charge it brings in its closing paragraph against me personally, I have nothing to say, for he is a priest and I am only a layman, and if the charge against me is untrue, it is nothing severer than I deserve to have said against me. Yet I regret that the illustrious writer should have broken his silence for the first time against me in defence of his personal character, which I have never attacked, instead of his doctrinal tendencies, which I have attacked, and labored to prove, are subversive of the Christian religion; for I had supposed it to be always a characteristic of the

Catholic doctor to be more sensitive to charges against his doctrine than to charges against his person.

If Dr. Newman had done me the honor to read what I have written in regard to him and his school, he would have seen that I have from first to last been careful to distinguish between the man and the author. I have never doubted his Catholic intentions; I have never entertained the least doubt of the sincerity of his faith, or that of his disciples. I have uniformly expressed my full confidence in the purity of their motives, and professed warm love and reverence for their personal virtues. Both he and they do themselves great injustice when they construe what I have said into attacks on their personal characters, or fancy that I am moved in what I write by any personal hostility to them. I am not their judge, and in no instance have I presumed to judge them, at least unfavorably. They have entirely misapprehended the state of my own feelings towards them, and if I have not been as eulogistic in my remarks on them as others have been, it is because I have not dared express the admiration and esteem I felt, lest I should give countenance to doctrinal tendencies which I regard as likely to prove dangerous to the purity and integrity of Faith.

I have freely and frankly pointed out the errors of the development school, or what appeared to me to be errors, as I have the right to do, and as I was bound to do. Dr. Newman, when he wrote his *Essay on Development*, was not a Catholic, and when I first wrote against it he was only a layman like myself. He had, indeed, been a Protestant minister, and so had I, and there was nothing in our relative positions that made it

improper for me to review his book. I could not dream that by doing so I should touch his personal feelings, or incur the charge of being personally hostile to him. I supposed that he, like myself, had no wish but to know and obey the truth, and it is with no less surprise than pain that I have found myself regarded as his personal enemy.

I am, I very well know, a layman, and write on religious and theological subjects, which no layman has of himself the right to do. But I do so at the request of the ecclesiastical authorities of my country, and I never publish an article, written by myself, on theological questions, without first submitting it to my own Bishop, or a competent theologian approved by him. I do not presume of myself to teach, for I well know that I have no authority to teach.

Dr. Newman's doctrine of development was submitted here to a close and rigid examination, not by me only, but by Bishops and professional theologians. I have only censured what they bid me censure, and I am responsible only for the manner in which I have done what they instructed me to do. Under these well-known circumstances Dr. Newman can hardly excuse himself for not replying to the charges I have preferred against his doctrine, either on the ground that the charges are not preferred by a theologian, or that they are charges against his person.

The only thing that operates here to Dr. Newman's disadvantage is his refusal to explain himself publicly with regard to his doctrine which has been publicly controverted, and his apparent disposition to regard attacks on his doctrine as attacks on his person. His

silence in this respect is not edifying, and, if continued, will lead to suspicion even of his motives. What is asked of him is, to tell us whether we have rightly apprehended his meaning; and if we have not, to set us right; and if we have, to tell us how that meaning can be compatible with Catholic Faith. There is no Catholic who wishes a quarrel with him, and all, I can assert, that I aim at is, to be at once just to him and to Catholic truth: I have no theory of my own that interferes with, and I seek only to defend the tradition of Faith as it has come down to us from the beginning.

I have written at greater length than I intended. I have simply wished to prevent a false issue from being made up before the public. I have had no fair play before the British public, for very few Catholics on your side of the water have seen what I have written; and in every instance which has fallen under my notice in which your journals have attempted to reproduce my views, they have misrepresented them. Even you yourself, in your notice of my review of Mr. Morris's book, did not deal fairly by me; you reproduced the passages which bore against Dr. Newman and the converted Puseyites, but you did not reproduce even one of the many passages which prove at a glance that I bring no such charges as you and Dr. Newman imagine. Is it that we deceive ourselves when we imagine that we speak a common language? Is it that you do not understand American, and that I do not understand English? I am half inclined to suspect that there is something of the sort, for I have full confidence in your personal kindness towards me, and your

disposition to be just to every man. However this may be, allow me to subscribe myself,

Your sincere friend and most obedient servant.

O. A. BROWNSON,

Editor of Brownson's Quarterly Review.

The Archbishop of Westminster having expressed regret that the American Reviewer should have found so much fault with the distinguished English convert, Brownson said: "We are well aware that we have given his Eminence pain by the course we have felt it our duty to pursue with regard to the theory of development. But we found that theory used by non-Catholics to the prejudice of the church, favored by some Catholics, and threatening to form a dangerous school within the fold, and we felt called upon to enter our feeble protest against it. We did not think the doctrine immediately dangerous enough to demand the official interposition of authority, especially in England, where we presume importance is attached only to the element of truth which all concede that it contains; but we did think, and so did a large number of our illustrious prelates, that some Catholic writer should undertake to refute it, and set the faithful on their guard against it, especially here, where its error was the only thing practically important, and favoring, as it could not fail to do with us, the dominant heresy of the age. . . . But as we have reason to think that the purpose for which we wrote has been effected, and that the theory in the sense we have opposed it will be silently dropped, we do not apprehend that any occasion will arise hereafter for renewing the discussion. At any rate, we feel that we have done all that can be reason-

ably asked of a lay journalist, and that, should the theory be reasserted, we are under no obligation to take any further notice of it. We shall therefore leave it in the hands of the pastors of the church to take such action or no-action on the subject as they judge necessary or expedient."

When Pope Pius IX determined to declare the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary a dogma of Catholic Faith, it is reported that the Letters Apostolic containing the definition were prepared for his signature on Newman's theory, and that the Holy Father rejected them for that reason, ordered the substitution of those of December 8th, 1854, beginning with the words, *Ineffabilis Deus*. The infallible Pope in this dogmatic definition says on the development of Christian doctrine: For the Church of Christ careful guardian and defender of the dogmas deposited with her, *never changes anything in them*, diminishes nothing, *adds* nothing, * but with all care tries, by faithfully and wisely treating whatever was anciently taught, and the Fathers' faith planted, to file and scrape (*Limare et expolire*) it, that those ancient dogmas of heavenly doctrine may receive evidence, light, distinctness, but retain their fulness, integrity, their peculiar nature, and only increase in their own kind, that is to say, in the same dogma, sense, and belief." Therefore he declares, pronounces, and defines, that the doctrine of the immaculate conception, which the Divine words, venerable tradition, the perpetual sense of the church (Divina eloquia, veneranda traditio, perpetuus ecclesiae sensus

* So also St. Leo the Great says: "Catholica fides quæ est singularis et vera, cuique nihil addi, nihil minui potest." Epist. 165. cap. ii.

. . . declarant.) distinctly indicate, has been revealed by God, (Esse a Deo revelatam.)

The origin of the errors of Newman and his school Brownson thought was in their method of studying theology wrong end foremost. He believed that the study of Catholic faith and theology should begin with the catechism. From that he would proceed to the next briefest compendium, to the scholastics, and, when these were mastered, to the fathers; because the key to the fathers is in the scholastics. Without this preparation, without the key which unlocks the sense of the fathers, one is almost as likely to misapprehend and wrest them to his own hurt as he is the Scriptures themselves. "They were written at a remote period, with special reference to the peculiar controversies, states of mind, and modes of thought at the time, and the reader who alights on them without a previous accurate knowledge of the chief points of Catholic theology will find them filled with obscurities and bristling with difficulties which he will hardly be able to solve or clear up.

"Our Tractarian friends, brought up to look upon contemporary Catholics as an ignorant, feeble, cunning, credulous, and superstitious set of mortals, far inferior in learning, talent, and morals to themselves, and accustomed to regard the scholastics as dealing mainly in vain subtleties and distinctions without a difference, very naturally passed from the study of their jejune Anglican theology to the study of the fathers, whom they were forced to read through the spectacles of their more famous Anglican divines. They thus not only had not the requisite preparation for studying them, but had views and habits which wholly unfitted them

for studying them, with even passable success. They have come from the fathers down to the scholastics, whom they have studied not profoundly, and have interpreted them by the fathers, instead of interpreting the fathers by them. Hence their theory of development, and other errors, adopted to reconcile the fathers and the later theologians." *

A like cause produced a like effect in the Mercersburg school, of which Nevin and Schaff were the leaders, both highly distinguished for their researches into the doctrines and history of the early period of Christianity. Intelligent and earnest-minded, they saw that unless they could find outside of the present Catholic Church some ground on which they could stand, different from that of vulgar Protestantism, they had no alternative but either to become Catholics or to rush forward into absolute infidelity. This ground they sought in historical development. The members of this school proved beyond doubt or cavil that Protestantism, if Christian, must be the development and the continuation of the Catholicity of the ages preceding that of the reformers; but they neither proved nor attempted to prove that it was, or show how it could have been. They only prove that Protestantism is a development and continuation of principles and tendencies which may be detected in mediæval history; that the reformers invented nothing; that they only developed and continued a movement which had commenced long before them. They assumed that every principle and tendency subsequently accepted, developed, and continued by Protestantism, was a sound Christian principle and a good tendency. But this was

* Works, vol. xiv., p. 182.

not only begging the question, but was an inconsistency; for they conceded that the mediæval church was the true Christian church, and these principles and tendencies were undeniably repudiated by her; and therefore to develop and continue them was anything but to develop and continue the Catholic Church or the Christian religion.*

The antichristian spirit of the age denies God as first cause in creation and in revelation. The developmentists who deny Christ as "the author and finisher of our faith," † only seem to me to introduce into Christianity what is asserted by the age in regard to man's creation. Modern science, at most, recognizes God only as creating germs which complete themselves by their own internal law or force. Globes, suns, stars, minerals, plants, animals, and man himself, are only the development by their own intrinsic force, of primeval gases, the origin of which is outside of the field of the knowable. This heathen doctrine of progress, or of evolution, makes man in whole or in part his own first cause, and so far as first cause, his own final cause, which takes from morality its foundation. So far as man is a joint author with Christ of Christian faith, that faith is not divine, and is no part of Christianity.

I do not find in Richard Simpson's letters to Brownson any reference to Newman or his theory; but the following extract from one of his letters to Hecker seems intended for the benefit of the Reviewer.

CLAPHAM, April 4th, 1853.

* See "The Mercersburg Hypothesis," Brownson's Works, vol. xiv., p. 183. † Hebr. xii, p. 2.

DEAR FATHER HECKER:

An edifying member of our congregation, one whom I used to see making the way of the Cross every day in Lent has just told me that he is going to turn Yankee, and is off to New York (going to face your country, as you would say?) tomorrow morning. I am afraid that this short notice will prevent my writing much, as I am off to Liverpool in about two hours, where I have to give a lecture tomorrow. I hope that I shall not make an ass of myself, and do any damage to that which I wish to assist. I was reading Brownson's essays when the invitation came, so naturally enough I chose rather a Brownsonian subject, to wit, private judgment. By the bye, talking of Brownson, did you write the *first* article on Father Gury in the number for July last year? * It reminded me so much of your talking, but I have not sufficient experience to know whether to call the points Heckerisms, or whether they are characteristic of people under the Brownsonian and other Yankee influences,—in the same way as we on this side of the water cast our thoughts into Newman's moulds.

I hope that Brownson will review Newman on University Education. It is a capital book, and I think that B. ought to admit that he has given (p. 348) quite a sufficient explanation, not of what he means by his book on Development, but of the limits to which he carries his doctrine. "The notion of doctrinal knowledge absolutely novel, and of simple addition from without, is intolerable to Catholic ears, and never was entertained by any one who was even approaching to an

* Hecker was not a contributor to the pages of Brownson's Q. Review.

understanding of our creed," etc., etc. "Christian Truth is purely of revelation, that revelation we can but explain, we cannot increase, *except relatively to our own apprehension.*"

I think that B. owes Newman a notice of this, for he has certainly continued to spy out in his book a good deal that no one else I have heard of ever managed to extract from it. I think posterity will judge of their quarrel as it has done of that between Plato and Aristotle; that the latter, though the most acute and most formally logical, has failed to see what the former intended, and had therefore misapprehended him

Yours affectionately,

R. SIMPSON.

Perhaps it was in view of Simpson's quotations in this letter, from Newman, that Brownson wrote in his next number, that for July, 1853: "Our last article on Developmentism, which seems to have given some offence, was written and printed before Dr. Newman had had his trial; * otherwise, we may say, it would have been written somewhat differently, for it is not, we hope, in our disposition even to appear to bear hard on those whom an unjust world oppresses." "We have seen no reason to retract anything we have written against Developmentism; we do not feel that any overture of peace is due from us; but we do feel we have done all our duty, and are free to drop the subject;" "and that, should the theory be reasserted, we are

* The trial was for libeling the Rev. G. Achilli who had gone from the Church to Anglicanism. Newman was found guilty and condemned to pay a considerable fine and heavy costs. Even *The Times* called the judgment a violation of justice, and Catholics in England and some on the Continent, being of the same opinion, contributed the amount necessary to satisfy the judgment.

under no obligation to take any further notice of it." He likewise said he had reason to think "that the theory in the sense we have opposed it will be silently dropped."

To conclude for the present, the consideration of the Development theory advocated by so many of the converts from Anglicanism, I quote the condemnation of their doctrine by the council of the Vatican, though I am well aware that after that condemnation a new edition of Newman's *Essay* was published in which the doctrine was retained in all its force.

The Vatican Council says: * Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est hmanis ingenii perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsæ tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem seniel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu, altioris intelligentiæ specie et nomine, recedendum. Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum, quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam Ecclesiæ, ætatum et sæculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia; sed in suo duntaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia."

* Constitutious Dogmaticæ, Sess. iii. Cap. 4. De Fide et Ratione, Denzinger, Enchiridion, Ed. 1888, p. 392.

CHAPTER XIII.

HUNTINGTON.—DONOSO CORTÉS.—KOSSUTH.—NAPOLEON III.

—MONTALEMBERT.—O'CONNOR.

AMONG the American converts to the Catholic Church, hardly any, if indeed any, has surpassed J. V. Huntington, previously an Episcopalian minister, in purely literary ability. Rather deficient in philosophical training, and somewhat morbid in his sensitiveness, he was peculiar in his theory of art and in his taste. At about the time of his conversion he published a novel, "Lady Alice, or the New Una," which was severely criticised by the papers generally. The nature of their censures and the author's defence sufficiently appear from a letter he wrote soon afterwards.

CORNER OF CLINTON & REMSEN STS., BROOKLYN,
Feb. 5, 1850.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I promised to send you, with a copy of Lady Alice, my own view of that celebrated work. I fear I shall hardly do it justice, but I will try. I have not sent it you before, because I was desirous to get you the first edition, in which I have not succeeded.

Lady Alice was not in its original conception, a "religious novel" at all. It was meant to be a love story, for I thought that love was the proper theme of the novelist, and that a true picture of love according to its idea, would both delight more than the factitious or

sensual passions generally described, and be of wholesome tendency. The primary manifestation of the consciousness of sex is reserve. Love is the voluntary sacrifice of inward reserve in favor of a chosen one, approved by the imagination, elected by the will. Love then presupposes chastity, and chastity presupposes the consciousness of sex. Love, taken thus in its simplest conception, is not concupiscence, for it existed before it in the bowers of Paradise. Human nature is incomplete without love in this sense, although since the Incarnation, the spouse of chaste souls is the Son of God, to whom (to whom otherwise the sacrifice were vain) holy virgins dedicate their chastity.

My design was to make this idea, which (it is true) I have rather seized in an imaginative way, than drawn out into a form of reflection,—my design was to make it pass into a beautiful form, as if it had been realized in our time. Hence the artifices employed to unclothe, as it were, my principal characters by endlessly varying their costume, and stripping their imaginary position of the very circumstances which belonged to it. I have been accused of adoring wealth, rank, blood, etc. Nothing can be more opposite to the truth. Lady Alice is rather the apotheosis of art and poetry, of genius and sympathy. The very things which the intensely artificial system of English life creates and kills, I have clothed, as it were, in the insignia of the factitious, social superiority which they adore. I have made, on the other hand, a daughter of nobles, one of the lilies of an aristocratic line, descend into the humble life of a struggling artist, and become like a wild-flower by the dusty roadside of common life, in order to become

interesting, which she never could have been by remaining in her boudoir.

Now for the minor *motives* of the book. 1. There is not a scene of *guilty* passion in Lady Alice. Three scenes are commonly objected to by critics who thus unconsciously betray themselves: the opening scene of the book, that in the gondola, the discovery of Fitzalan by Clifford. These scenes all have the interest of passion, I admit: they were meant to have; but not of *sin*. Really one would think that even a Protestant might penetrate the design of an author writing thus.

2. In every *modern* English novel, almost without exception, you will find vice treated as a part of masculine education. In Lady Alice, as in some remnant of Catholic times, inviolable chastity is not only ascribed to the hero, but is made the secret of his superiority. The whole secret of Una's successful disguise is attributed to the loss of spiritual discernment on the part of her friends, who know her and yet know her not, because their conscience is not purified. Observe Louise de Schönberg intuitively recognizing this when the discovery takes place:

"When Alice's own hair at length fell in profuse waves around her, Claribelle kissed those golden tresses —her ancient care; but Louise stood with hands folded on her breast, scarcely lifting her eyes to meet her friend's glance." Lady Alice, B. viii. ch. viii.

I do not deny that all love-painting (if it be true) is liable to abuse; but that it is inadmissible in literature, I will not admit even to you, my dear sir. I do not understand the Review, however, as taking ground that would condemn Spenser, Shakespeare, and the Bible

itself. And I maintain that the plain speaking in Lady Alice is wholesome, as it can plead the highest example. Protestants (as one who knows them has said to me) will *do* the vilest things without scruple or remorse, but they cannot endure to hear the most innocent things *said*. "All things are clean to the clean, but to them that are defiled, and to unbelievers nothing is clean; but both their heart and their conscience are defiled."

The religious theory of "Lady Alice" is of course a perfect unreality, but considered as unfolding a very real state of mind it is instructive. The result proves that I was sincere, as I think many others are in holding "Roman" doctrine in the Protestant church. I painted not from imagination. I had actually practised for years what I represented my heroine as practising at Rome. It is well there should be a delineation of this phase of pseudo-catholicity. It springs naturally out of the Episcopalian system; it is a logical consequence of the High-Church principles carried out; and it may serve, as the Episcopal church is serving, to break down the puritanism of our poor, self-satisfied countrymen preparatory to their embracing the faith.

Of course, I do not defend all the crude views of morals and expediency thrown out in a book which I wrote when I was not a Catholic. I condemn, on the contrary, as extravagant and undiscriminating the ground taken in regard to amusements. I think, or rather, I *know* that I have expressed myself inaccurately in regard to duelling, which I always abominated, it is true, but in treating of which I failed to distinguish between the institution of chivalry sustained by the

church, and an abuse of it, against which the church, having Christ crucified always in her heart, ever protested. My *idea* was that the privilege of using the sword, as a trust, in defence of oppressed innocence, was inherent in the old European conception of a nobility; and so far my principle was indubitably just; I only misapplied it.

I beg you will excuse this hasty outline of what I should say of "Lady Alice," if I felt myself called upon to say anything, and believe me, my dear Mr. Brownson, faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. HUNTINGTON.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

For the moment Brownson refrained from criticism of the author of "Lady Alice;" perhaps he hoped that its author's new life might operate a change in his views of art, literature, and morals. It would seem that Huntington, agreeing with some French writer, Voltaire, I believe, that "*la vertu s'est enfuie des cœurs et s'est refugiée sur les lèvres*," had come to the conclusion that virtue could only be driven back to the heart by exiling it from the lips. Soon after, that is, about the end of 1850 or beginning of 1851, Huntington published "Alban, or the History of a Young Puritan," and in 1852 "Forest," a sequel to *Alban*, and in 1853 a second edition of "*Alban*." Both these novels were written after the author's conversion. Of them Brownson said: "Whatever may be thought of his books, he is himself, we are sure, a most estimable and pure-minded man. The passages objected to in "*Alban*," we are confident, sprung from no prurient fancy, but from the author's theory of art, which seems to

have been learned chiefly in the studio of the painter or the sculptor. He has apparently written in accordance with his theory, which he has not in all cases applied precisely as intended. The author's theory of taste is not ours, and he presents as the principal what we would at most only tolerate as accessory. We never tolerate description, whether of external nature or of the human person, for mere description's sake. We allow no more description than is necessary to explain the positions of the actors, or to assist the action of the piece. We think it repugnant to the laws of true art for a writer, every time he has occasion to introduce a woman, to stop and give us a full-length portrait of her, the color of her hair, the form of her eyebrows, the cast of her features, the pouting or not pouting of her lips, the shape of her bust, the size of her waist, with remarks on the flexibility of her limbs, and the working of her toes. Dr. Huntington seems to have thought differently, and hence the passages which have given offence. His great strength lies in description, in which he excels, not in the conduct of a story or the development of character. In his volumes we find much that is absurd, much that is silly, and a great deal that wants *vraisemblance*; but after all, the most fastidious critic must allow him a very high order of ability, and passages and scenes of rare beauty and interest." And again: "There is no question that *Alban* is a work of ability, perhaps we should say genius, and it has many beautiful and touching scenes, and much fine description. We wish we could commend it without reserve; but, after all, the present edition is no great improvement of the first. It is not

that any of the scenes, descriptions, or expressions are in themselves offensive to modesty, and very few persons would be so fastidious as to object to them, if the author did not pause to defend them, or to suggest the very thoughts they would not suggest, by telling us that they are modest, and no reasonable person can find fault with them. The author sins by his bad taste and lack of judgment, not by impurity of heart. He forgets that nature has her unseemly as well as her seemly parts, and that not all that is natural is fit for public exhibition. The novelist has a perfect right to appeal to nature to give interest to his work, but it should be honest, not dishonest nature. There is no doubt that a nude figure may be chaste, and that a figure may be immodest though draped to the heels and to the throat. All depends on the spirit the artist breathes into his creation and the expression he gives it, and we apprehend that the objection to the author is not that his figures are nude, for that they are not, but that he fails to animate them with a perfectly chaste spirit, and to clothe them with a perfectly chaste expression. But even the most chaste figures ever produced by an artist may be made the occasion of immodest thoughts, if the artist invites you to pause before it, and convince yourself that it is modest, and not immodest. The author, we are sure, means well, but he is a little fussy where women are concerned, and is too fond of adjusting their corsages, tying on their slippers, or smoothing the folds of their petticoats, and not contented with indulging his fussy disposition, he looks you very innocently in the face, and tells you there is nothing improper in all this, for he means nothing. Perhaps there is not, but he would do better not to challenge us to discuss it."

This comparatively mild criticism was published in Brownson's Review for July, 1853. Huntington wrote a communication, signed J. V. H., which appeared in the *Truth-Teller* of New York on the 16th of the same month. *The Freeman's Journal* and one or two other Catholic papers were attempting to set up a cry against the Review, and Huntington begins by saying that it is a good time for him to join in and have his say, as "he has a bone to pick with its editor, on his own account." But instead of defending his own novels, or attacking the Reviewer's theory of literary criticism, he makes war on Brownson's philosophical doctrines, which he did not understand, and consequently often represented him as holding the very error he was striving to refute. But the main portion of Huntington's letter to the *Truth-Teller* is devoted to a defence of the *Civiltà Cattolica* against Brownson's attack. The matter was this.

Juan Donoso-Cortés, Marquis of Valdegamas and Spanish Ambassador at Paris, addressed a letter to the *Heraldo de Madrid*, April 15th, 1852, on parliamentarism, liberalism, and rationalism, in which the writer said: "I acknowledge no human right, and hold that, strictly speaking, there is no right but divine right. In God is right, and the concentration of all rights; in man is duty and the concentration of all duties. Man calls the utility which he derives from the fulfilment by others of their duties to his advantage his right, but the word *right* on man's lips is a faulty (*viciosa*) expression, and when he goes further and erects this faulty expression into a theory, the tempest is let loose upon the world."

La Civiltà Cattolica, a semi-monthly magazine established by the Jesuits at Rome in 1851, inserted the entire letter in its issue of May 15th, with a general approval, but objecting to calling the word *right* on man's lips "a vicious expression," and substituting for *vicious* the epithet *imperfect*, and even that it says it hardly dares use. It then goes on to argue that to deny man rights by real participation of the divine right would lead to pantheism or else to the system of occasional causes, and reasserts the doctrine it had previously defended in an article on the "Idea of Right," in July, 1851.

As this subject was one which Brownson regarded as fundamental in ethics, and on which he had thought and written much, and especially in his *Letter to Protestants*, * he would not lose the opportunity presented by defending the Marquis of bringing out his own understanding of the basis of morals, and exposing the defect of the ethical system defended by the *Civiltà*. "We are very far," he says, "from regarding the word *right* in every sense as a vicious expression when adopted by man, but our contemporary's note fails to convince us it is not vicious in the sense intended by the author of the letter, or that in changing *viciosa* into *imperfetta* he has merely softened the expression of the text, without changing the system of the author. The Italian critic and the Spanish statesman do not, as it strikes us, adopt the same ethical philosophy, and explain the ground of rights and duties by the same method. The critic says he agrees perfectly with the author 'that right in man is very

* Works, vol. v, p. 270.

different from right in God, and that it originates essentially in the order which the Creator has established in the universe, and the obligation man is under of conforming thereto.' But we see not how this can be, for, if we understand him, the Marquis denies all human right, and his precise doctrine is, that man has no rights at all, that all rights are God's rights, and that man has only duties, and of course duties, strictly speaking, only to God. The Marquis denies, strictly speaking, all human right; his critic asserts human right, though he concedes that it is only an imperfect right, as all the forces of second causes are imperfect, inasmuch as they all depend on God as their first cause. The difference is not one of exaggeration, but one of system, and the question is, which system ought to be adopted?" *

Brownson was reluctant to dispute any doctrine asserted by the *Civiltà Cattolica*; for he had high respect for the piety, zeal, and learning of the Society of Jesus, whose organ it was, and a hearty sympathy for its great design which was to vindicate Catholic civilization, and to show the utter imbecility for good and the destructive character, under the point of view of civilization, of Protestantism and its off-spring, rationalism and socialism; but moral, religious, and even political considerations prevented him from recognizing human rights properly although imperfectly so-called.

The writers in the *Civiltà* sustained themselves and opposed their enemies with science and profound thought, but without that freshness, originality, and energy which the times demanded. Error is in a per-

* Rights and Duties, Works vol. xiv. p. 294.

petual state of development, and is constantly changing its forms, and the forms of the truth and of the expressions opposed to it require to be changed from time to time. These excellent writers seemed not to be fully aware of this fact, and to adopt a style of discussion and a form of expression better adapted to the discussions as they were carried on two centuries ago than as they are required to be carried on now. Truth is never new, never old, but always one and the same. We do not want new truths to oppose to novel errors as they arise; and the same truth always suffices. But that truth needs to be presented under new aspects and in new forms of expression in order to meet the novelties of error. Denial is carried further in our days than it appears ever to have been in any previous age, and what two hundred years ago would have been received as an axiom by all parties is now called in question, and has to be demonstrated. The current teachings of philosophy, then sound because qualified and restricted in the minds of both teachers and pupils by certain principles which nobody dreamed of disputing, have been seized upon by more recent speculators, who, rejecting the qualifying principles originally held, make them the basis of ethical and political doctrines as false as they are fatal to the individual and to society. It can hardly be doubted that on many points of philosophy and politics both St. Thomas and Suarez writing to-day, in view of the specific forms of contemporary errors, would greatly modify some of their expressions, and give a greater prominence to some, and a less prominence to other aspects of truth than they have done in their works. The errors they had to combat were, no

doubt, the same at bottom that have to be combated now, but they then manifested themselves under other forms. The main thing in politics St. Thomas had to guard against was sedition or rebellion on the part of subjects, and tyranny and oppression on the part of rulers: the prominent errors that Suarez and also Bellarmine had to combat were the doctrines of the divine right of kings and passive obedience, advocated by the Protestant ministers in England and the opponents of the League in France. The doctrine of the divine right of kings was then asserted with a double object, that of denying the spiritual authority of the supreme pontiff over temporal princes, and the right of the people in the name of religion to resist the temporal ruler who failed in his obedience to the church of God. Those great doctors had nothing to fear from the sovereignty of the people, and had no pressing occasion to guard against the tyranny of the people. They could well say then, and apprehend no danger from saying, that the political sovereignty under God resides in the multitude. Their doctrine, as they understood it, I need not say was sound, but when it came to be embraced by men predisposed to democracy, their language assumed another meaning, and was understood to authorize the doctrines held by our modern liberals. We cannot, then, use their language to-day, without important qualifications which exclude the errors which it now apparently authorizes. Their doctrine is not to be questioned, at least by me; but their language which expressed the truth to the understanding of their age, and excluded the dominant errors of their times, owing to the changes of error, does not fully on this point

express the truth which they held to our age, nor directly oppose the dominant errors of our times. This fact should be particularly borne in mind by the readers of the excellent work of Balmes on Civilization. Balmes himself does not seem to have duly considered it, and very few readers predisposed to democracy can read his extracts from St. Thomas, Bellarmine, and Suarez without fancying that he has the authority of these great Catholic doctors on the side of modern liberalism.*

The doctrine of Valdegamas appears somewhat startling at first, but the more it is examined, the sounder it will appear. The Marquis was a man of the world, and in his youth, like Brownson, a liberalist, and had in this respect an advantage over his critic who had never known the popular errors of the day, save as he had seen them in others. The great masters of thought, learning at the foot of the Crucifix, do not need to have experienced in themselves great errors in order either to understand them or be able to adopt the best method of refuting them; still for ordinary men, though well read in the schools, it is some advantage to have had to struggle with them as great practical questions in their own intellectual and moral life. One should know that the Marquis had been a liberalist, if he did not tell us so, by the felicitous manner in which he opposed to liberalism the precise truth which condemns it, and in the precise form in which it was needed to condemn it. By the same token one should think his critic knew the error and the opposing truth mainly as he had learned them from reading and conversation. He understood well that the age was diseased, he knew

* See Works, vol. xiv, pp. 298-9.

very well the general character of the disease and in a general way the remedy, but he did not seem to know the precise form of the disease nor the exact specific to be applied to remove it. In short the *Civiltà* did not seem fully to comprehend the nature of the enemy it was fighting. The age is further gone in unbelief, sunk to far lower depths of unreason than it seemed to imagine, and requires more searching efforts to recover and bring it back to the comparatively rational ground on which unbelievers and misbelievers stood two hundred years ago than the good Fathers seemed to think necessary. Brownson thought they did not commence their war upon the rationalists and revolutionists of the age quite far enough back, and conceded them too much in the outset, and that they would do little to arrest the progress of rationalism and revolutionism in the Italian peninsula as long as they conceded to their opponents that man has rights which he holds from nature and only mediately from God, the very starting-point of all rationalism and of all political radicalism. The view which Brownson took, politically applied, denies the "sacred right of insurrection," and is opposed to the revolutionary and social despotisms which modern demagogues labor to erect in the name of what they call the "Rights of Man," but it neither abridges the just powers of government nor favors tyranny. Assuming certain so-called rights of man, the demagogues erected on them a theory as incompatible with liberty as with social order and good government; and it was to be able to combat these demagogues successfully that led him to deny that strictly speaking man has any rights.

Politically applied, Brownson's doctrine undoubtedly

denies the *rights* of human government, but only by converting these rights into *trusts*, which destroys the very foundation of despotism and establishes in principle true liberty. The basis of oriental despotism is that human government is a human right, that power is held as a right, not as a trust, and that it is the right of one man; the basis of democratic despotism is the same, with the difference that the power to govern, instead of being the right of one man, is the right of every man, as expressed in the doctrine of universal suffrage as a natural and inherent right; of aristocratic despotism it is the assumption that the power is the *right* of the parliamentary body. In all these forms of government we contradict the despotic principle and affirm the principle of liberty the moment we deny power, however constituted or in whose hands soever lodged, to be a human right, and affirm it to be a trust. The government does not govern in its own right, on its own authority, but the authority of God, who creates the trust, and is bound to govern according to the conditions annexed. These conditions, since annexed by God himself, must be wise, just, and good, as is his own law; and consequently the government will be wise and just and good so long as it conforms to them; and when it ceases to conform to them, that is, when it violates its trusts, forfeits them, and the subject is absolved from his allegiance, because the duty of obedience is to God, and to the government only as authorized by God to govern, and of course ceases the moment the government loses that authorization. This, at least in principle, provides ample security against the despotism of human government. It provides also for the stability of government and the good

order of society ; because to all the usual motives for obedience to government drawn from natural sources, it adds the obligation of religion. The obedience of the subject is due to God, and to the state as the minister of God and because God commands him to give it to the state. To disobey the state in the legal or authorized exercise of its powers is to disobey God.

Religion as well as political science confirms the truth of the doctrine Brownson was contending for. If our duties, he argues, are not all duties to God, why are we required to refer all our acts to God, either expressly or habitually? If I owe a duty to my neighbor in his own right, wherefore is it necessary for its perfect discharge to look beyond my neighbor and refer it to God? God did not make me for my neighbor, nor my neighbor for me. He did not create the universe either in part or in whole for itself. He created all things for himself alone. He is the sole last as he is the sole first cause of all things. All activity of second causes is in the second cycle, that of return to God as final cause. This return is not a right, it is a duty, and necessarily a duty, in its formal character of duty, to God, and to him alone. It is my duty to return to God as the sole end for which he made me, and this is all my duty. It is clear then that all our duties are, strictly speaking, duties to God, and consequently *right* in the mouth of man, save as the vicar, minister, or agent of God, is a vicious, not merely an imperfect expression ; that human rights are not mere imperfect rights, as is every participated being, but no human rights at all. They are simply God's rights and man's duties.

Brownson, therefore, maintained, not that man in

no sense has rights, but that he has no inherent, indefeasible, natural rights, deriving their character of rights, that is, their binding force as law, from man himself, because nature or second causes have and can have in themselves no proper legislative authority. He denied that the natural law derives its character as law, or its binding force from nature, and asserted that it derived that character or that force solely and directly from the command or will of God. Taking *right* in the sense of *jus*, he shows that it is legislative, that it imposes and defines duty, which it is beyond the sphere of nature to do, and which belongs only to him from whom is *all power*, as St. Paul tells the Romans. Huntington, coming, as has been said, to the aid of the *Civiltà Cattolica* in the columns of the Truth-Teller, taking *right* in the sense of *rectum*, or what is reasonable proper, fit, or convenient, asserts that it is the eternal reason or wisdom of God, and therefore as men participate reason they have participated rights. But right in this sense is only declarative of what is proper, right, or decent and what is not, of what is law for the understanding, and confounds right in this sense with right in the sense of *jus*, of what is obligatory, legislative, law for the will; and assumes that whatever may be predicted of right in the one sense is true of right in the other sense. This is not altogether peculiar to Huntington, but is a common sophistry with ethical writers, and his communication to the Truth-Teller furnished Brownson a good opportunity to explain the error in his reply which appeared in his Review for October, 1853.*

* Works, vol. xiv. p. 317.

In France the *Univers* defended Cortes's position, while the *Ami de la Religion* assailed it; consequently, for once Brownson agreed with the *Univers*. In general, however, he had few views in common with Louis Veuillot. In the controversy concerning the use of Pagan classics as text-books, his sympathies were with the *Ami de la Religion*, which opposed the extreme views of the Abbé Gaume who favored the substitution of the Scriptures and the Fathers, and not with the *Univers* which sustained the Abbé. Whether in other circumstances, Brownson giving his opinions without being influenced by the Bishop of Boston, would have written as he did in his criticism of Gaume in April, 1852, * may be questioned. But Fitzpatrick was always inclined to measure the effect of any thing on others by its effect on himself, and he certainly had received no injury from the study of the Greek and Latin pagan authors. Moreover he had come from the Sulpitian Seminary in Paris, and had unbounded confidence in and reverence for the *Ami de la Religion* and its editor, the Abbé Cognat. He, therefore, was inclined to take its side in the controversy, and, wishing Brownson to do the same, represented to him that it was condemning the church, popes, bishops, and great teaching orders who had allowed the classics to be used for the last four hundred years in Catholic schools, to maintain that they tended to produce paganism in society. This was the point most insisted on in his review of Gaume, and he admits that prior to his conversion, and for several years after, he entertained to their full extent the views defended by the Abbé, and

* *Paganism in Education*, Works, vol. x, p. 551.

in which Cardinal Gousset, Count de Montalembert, and many admirers of the middle ages concurred. "The Abbé Gaume," he says, "is free to maintain that it would be well, and that under existing circumstances it is necessary, to banish the ancient Greek and Latin classics from our schools; but not, in our judgment, that the paganism of modern society has resulted from their use, and that in suffering them to be used the church has acted as unwisely as the artist who, wishing to cast a hero, poured his molten metal into the mould of a horse."

In another question, arising at about the same time, Brownson was led into writing what he afterwards regretted by the same excessive confidence of his bishop in the *Ami de la Religion*, and this time he was unfortunately induced to criticise Donoso Cortés unjustly, or at least more severely than he afterwards thought just. Cortés published at Madrid, in 1851, his grand essay, "Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism," and Louis Veuillot published in his *Bibliothèque Nouvelle de la Religion* a French version of the book. The Abbé Gaduel, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Orleans, in the *Ami de la Religion*, criticised it severely, charging on the author grave errors concerning God, the Trinity, original sin, and free will, which he endeavored to prove by extracts, which if not modified by the context, seemed to sustain his criticism. Brownson had not seen the essay, but only Gaduel's extracts and comments, and was informed by Fitzpatrick that the critic was "a profound theologian, one of the best theologians in France, truly modest and unassuming, and a most worthy man, not likely to bring the grave charges he

does without at least some reason." When Cortés read the charges against him, to which a friend called his attention, as he had been so much engrossed with his duties as ambassador as not to have seen them, he wrote to that friend (January 23, 1853) a letter which was published in the *Univers* on the 28th, in which he says, "I need only to know that I am accused of falling into so great a number of heresies to declare that I condemn whatever the Holy Catholic Church, whose submissive and respectful son I have the happiness to be, has condemned, condemns, or may hereafter condemn in others or myself. To make this declaration, I have no need to wait till the church herself speaks; it is enough that a single man accuses me of error."

To this Gaduel answered in the *Ami de la Religion*, that there was no doubt of Cortés's disposition, but it was his duty to have his book examined to see if it contained the errors alleged against it.

Brownson, in his discussion of the matter, very fortunately did not discuss the doctrine apparently contained in Gaduel's extracts, but he censured Cortés for not causing his book to be examined. Cortés expressed himself as much pained by Brownson's remarks, and a copy of the essay was soon after sent him by A. Calderon de la Barca. The very first thing after the title page is a conspicuous notice, five lines long, but occupying the entire page, saying that the work has been examined in its dogmatic part by one of the most renowned theologians of Paris, a member of the famous school of the Benedictines of Solesmes, and that the author has conformed to all his observations. In addition to this examination, Cortés wrote to Gaduel that his letter

published in the *Univers* was not all, nor was it ever considered by him all he owed to the public, and assured him that he had already submitted his work to the proper authorities for examination. In the Review for July, 1853,* Brownson criticises the essay in a sufficiently favorable spirit; but Donoso Cortés expired in the beginning of May.

In December, 1851, Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian, landed in the United States. He had been liberated by Turkey through the interposition of the British and American governments, and brought hither on the U. S. Steamer Mississippi as the guest of the nation. The President, in his annual message to Congress, dated December 2d, professed to lay down a neutral policy as that of the government, and at the same time ordered Kossuth to be greeted on his arrival with a national salute, recognized him as *Governor* Kossuth, recommended him to Congress, and virtually asked for him an official reception by the nation.

In criticising the President's message, Brownson said: "The government has really let loose one of the most dangerous characters now living. The President knew in the outset that this man was a traitor, and one to whom it is a profanation to apply the term *patriot*; he knew before sending his message to Congress that he was a turbulent spirit; that he would only abuse his liberty to stir up insurrections, to teach the people insubordination to their magistrates, and to renew his efforts to dismember an empire with which we profess to have relations of peace. . . . The President must be presumed to be well acquainted with the present

* *Philosophical Studies on Christianity*, Works, vol. iii, p. 151.

state of things in Europe. He knows, then, we must presume, that throughout all Europe there is a grand conspiracy, with its central government at present in London, and its ramifications extending even to this country,—a conspiracy organized avowedly for the purpose of revolutionizing by violence every monarchical, and indeed every legally constituted government in the civilized world. The supreme chief of the conspiracy is not Louis Kossuth, but Joseph Mazzini, an Italian refugee, who lately obtained in England a loan of ten millions for carrying on his revolutionary purposes, and whose agents, we are informed, are in the United States, organizing associations under his authority and that of his colleagues, and collecting funds in aid of the conspiracy. The conspirators of all countries are embraced in the same grand organization, under one and the same central junta, or revolutionary government. The President, no doubt, knows all this, and he further knows,—it would be disrespectful to him not to suppose it,—that the conspiracy is armed not merely against monarchy, but against all legitimate authority, against all religion except an idolatrous worship of what is blasphemously called the GOD-PEOPLE or the PEOPLE-GOD, against all morality, all law, all order, and indeed against society itself. These are the principles the President terms 'liberal principles,' and the struggle of this conspiracy to carry out their principles and realize their infamous purposes is what he terms 'a struggle against oppression.' It must be so, for this conspiracy embraces the whole revolutionary party we hear of in Europe, or to which the President can have any reference."

Knowing this fact, and taking Webster's answer to

Hülsemann in connection with the message, it was easy to understand the President's policy. "On our side are these conspirators of all nations banded together, and moving in concert, as if directed by a single will, and on the other are the several governments, and the friends of society, civilization, and morality. It seems to be agreed on all hands, that during this 1852 the two parties are to meet in mortal combat, and decide on the battle-field the terrible questions at issue, and on which side victory will incline seems now, even to the most sanguine, to be a matter of doubt.* Now the President's neutral policy, as we understand it, is, that if in any particular nation the government is able to sustain itself, and put down the rebels, and vindicate the rights of authority, we may regret it indeed, but are not to deem it our duty to interfere to save our friends from this sad termination of their hopes; nevertheless, we are to insist that the rebels shall have fair play, that they shall have the moral influence of our countenance and of our loudly expressed sympathy, and that no third party shall be called in to assist in suppressing them. Austria may whip rebellious Hungary or any other of her provinces into submission, if she can; but she shall not call Russia in to help her to do it, and Russia is not to be suffered to take part in the quarrel, even if invited by Austria. But suppose neither Russia nor Austria respects our anxiety on the subject, and pays no attention to our protests? The President says not what we shall do then, but 'that we shall resort to

* This was published January 1, 1852, and written some weeks earlier, before the news of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, had reached this country. By his energetic action the French President destroyed the hope for a speedy revolutionizing of Europe, and gave a fatal blow to Kossuth's agitation here.

'the Anglo-Saxon alliance', and shout 'England and America against the world', and thus our neutrality become armed intervention, is not impossible. This in certain quarters seems to be contemplated, and possibly may take place, if Mr. Webster remains Secretary of State, and Lord Palmerston retains his place in the British cabinet.

"Now we would most respectfully ask whence it comes that we are to be the second, or the bottle-holder, of universal rebeldom? Wherefore is it that our government should be 'anxious' for the success of rebels, traitors, assassins, conspirators against God and man? The President either knows the principles and character of the European revolutionary party, or he does not. If he does not, he is inexcusably rash in espousing their cause, and expressing his official sympathy with them; if he does, as it is but decent respect to his official position to assume, then he knows that they are the common enemies of the human race, whose success would be the paralysis of religion, the destruction of civilization, the triumph of anarchy, and the return of barbarism. He must know this, and yet he gives them his official sanction, and goes to the extremest verge of prudence in their defence! Moreover, the President must be presumed to know thoroughly the doctrines of his friends, for we cannot suppose he would press them to his official bosom as his dear and loving friends if not well acquainted with their principles. He knows, then, that they proclaim the *Fraternity*, the *Solidarity*, as Kossuth expresses it, of peoples. Now this means, in the doctrine of the sect, that revolutionists of all countries and nations make but one brotherhood, or are bound together

in solidō (all standing for each, and each for all). Whenever the standard of rebellion is raised, the people of all nations have the right, and are bound, to flock around it and aid their brothers. This is what is meant by the brotherhood or the solidarity of the peoples, and Kossuth, by his free use of the word *solidarity* in his speeches, shows that he has been initiated into the mysteries of the sect. As for Kossuth, we care not for him. He is not the man, unless we are greatly mistaken, to make any lasting impression upon Yankees. He is eloquent and clever, and, like all our modern revolutionists, has a great command of words, vulgarly termed the 'gift of the gab ;' but he is not a man of the higher order of intellect. He lacks the ingredient of downright honesty of purpose, has too much to say of himself, and wears his principles quite too loosely. He will not elect our next president, nor induce us to engage in a war with either Austria or Russia. We shall have a good time with him, feast ourselves, have our own jollification, let him laugh a little at us in his sleeve while we laugh a good deal at him in ours, and then—cast him off."

In October, 1852, Brownson was able to say that the result had verified his prediction about Kossuth. "He landed amid salutes of artillery and the shouts of congregated thousands, and proceeded to his quarters as a nation's guest, with a half-regal train, and amid the pomp and honors due to a conquering hero. He was hailed as the champion of liberty, the confessor, almost the martyr of humanity, termed the great representative man of the age, and by some,—we shudder to write it,—a new Messiah come to regenerate and save mankind.

Religious and secular presses aside from the Catholic journals, were, with singular unanimity, loud, even vociferous, in his praise; only the New York Courier and Enquirer, and the Boston Daily Advertiser having from the first the courage to maintain the truth against him. A few short months passed away, and the nation's guest,—welcomed by President, cabinet, and congress, feasted and toasted by members of the senate and house of representatives, by state governors and legislatures, by cities, towns, and committees,—under an assumed name of Alexander Smith, crept stealthily on board a steamer at New York bound for England, leaving his board bill to his landlady unpaid. The country had played out its play, had enjoyed all the excitement, fun, and frolic he could furnish them, and thought it time to break up the masquerade. He embarked from New York last June, amid the perfect indifference of the American people, and there is now a very general conviction that he really is—what the Archbishop of New York so opportunely pronounced him—a humbug. Greeley's Tribune and Raymond's Times are the only journals of any note that still make a show of adhering to him. The Kossuth plume has drooped, the Kossuth hat will soon go, if it has not already gone, out of fashion, and there will be few willing to remember that they ever shouted a welcome to the Magyarized Slave. All this we foresaw last January, and knowing him and our countrymen as we did we could easily foresee it."

In January, 1850, in a public address in New York, Brownson denounced Kossuth and the Hungarian rebellion, and was rewarded with a hiss; in June, 1852, he

did the same thing in the same city, and was applauded to the echo.

In November, 1852, Brownson was announced to deliver a lecture for the Young Catholics' Friends Society at the Boston Melodeon, on "Charity and Philanthropy." Two gentlemen belonging to that society came to Mt. Bellingham to accompany the lecturer to the hall, and during the drive informed him that the news had been received in the afternoon by the steamer that Louis Napoleon had been elected Emperor of the French. Thereupon Brownson, turning to his son who was with him, said: "I feel much inclined to change my subject to-night, and lecture on the new Emperor." Arriving a few minutes later at the Melodeon, Brownson, at the opening of his address, informed his audience that in consequence of the news brought by the Cunard steamer, he had decided to speak on the subject of the new empire, and for two hours he discussed the past and future of Napoleon III. He might, the speaker said, take Charlemagne for his model, or he might choose to follow in the path of his uncle; but it was certain that if he took the latter course, he would fall as speedily and as deeply as that tyrant did. The struggle in France, as elsewhere throughout Christendom, the lecturer asserted, was between Catholicity, in its genuine Roman sense, the Catholicity of the Dark Ages, if you will, which asserts the supremacy of the spiritual order, and the obligation of both sovereigns and subjects to obey in all things the law of God as interpreted by his church; and Socialism, or red republicanism, which asserts the supremacy of the secular order, the subjection of the soul to the body, will to appetite, reason to the

passions, and makes terrestrial felicity man's last end. These are the two parties, each with its principles well defined; each fully aware of its own meaning; each with a distinct and determinate object before it; and each devoted to its object, heart and soul. The war is between these two parties. These are the combatants, and one or the other of these must win or lose the victory. Your old-fashioned Gallicans and your moderate Republicans are mere followers of the camp, swelling the numbers on either side, but encumbering its movements without adding anything to its effective strength. A year ago, all appearances were that victory for a time would be carried by the socialists, and European society and civilization fall back into barbarism. The prospect was civil war, confusion, and anarchy in all the continent of Europe. Louis Napoleon, by his famous *coup d'état*, seized the reins of government in France, employed it against the enemies of order, and turned for the time the scale against them, much to the joy of all good men throughout the world. For the present the socialists are defeated, and there is gained a respite which may be improved to re-establish society and social order on a solid and permanent basis. But although a powerful reaction is going on in Europe against the socialists, it would be worse than idle to suppose that socialism is extinct in France, or in any European state, or that all danger to be apprehended from the revolutionary party has passed over. Socialism still exists in France and throughout Europe; it has been defeated for the moment, perhaps disheartened, but not annihilated. If the existing governments improve the opportunity wisely, and place themselves in normal

relations with the church, the reaction against socialism will prove to be permanent, and the victory recently won to be decisive. But society and civilization are not for their own sakes; they are for the Spiritual and Eternal, and therefore are in their very nature subordinate to the church,—the only true society, the only true civilization. They depend on the church, and can be promoted or secured only in proportion as she is free and independent, and cheerfully submitted to by sovereigns and subjects as the sole guardian and interpreter of the law of God in all things. If the European sovereigns forget this fact, if they fail to recognize that the mission of the Christian prince is to be the armed defender of the church against all external enemies, and seek to use the respite granted them only to render their power absolute, to establish despotism as the remedy against anarchy, they will find that socialism is not dead, and that at such moment as they think not it will break out anew with resistless fury; for there is too much life, too much vigor, in the people of every European, at least of every Catholic state, to suffer them to sink down quietly under an oriental despotism. There are two things against which, as a Catholic, I declare eternal hostility; namely, the despot and the mob, despotism and anarchy. The first exists wherever there are no restrictions on the power of the prince, and he is regarded as the sovereign lord and proprietor of his subjects; the second, where there is no authority which any one feels bound in conscience to obey. Written constitutions, parliamentary bodies, all the contrivances of human wit and wisdom to restrict the power of the ruler, or to bind the subject to obedience,

are of themselves insufficient to maintain authority against anarchy, or liberty against despotism. The legitimate authority of the prince, and the just liberty of the subject, wrangle as you will, are practicable only under the supremacy of a divinely instituted and supernaturally assisted and protected church. To enslave this church, or not to recognize her authority and secure her freedom and independence of action, is at once to destroy the authority of the prince and the liberty of the subject, or to convert authority into despotism, and liberty into license. We have had for years to insist on this great truth in favor of authority against the people in rebellion; I hope we shall not now have to insist on it against rulers seeking to reign as despots. The great purely human instrument that God appears to have used in staying for a time the torrent of socialism, and in rendering the re-establishment of order in Europe possible, is Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, now Napoleon III., and perhaps, for the moment, the most important secular sovereign in the world. As President of the French republic, he has been the instrument of much good, and the French people, in gratitude for the essential services that he has rendered to the cause of social order, have permitted him, as it appears, to re-establish the empire and to assume the imperial crown. They seem to have believed that only by so doing could they repress socialism, and maintain fixed and permanent government. Whether they have done wisely or not, time alone can determine. Napoleon III. is an extraordinary man, and has thus far proved himself the enemy of the socialists, and not hostile to religion. It is not easy to see what, after the *coup*

d'état of last December, France could do but place him on the throne of his uncle. Certainly I do not regret the Bourbons of either branch. Their day is over. They forgot their mission as Christian princes, placed France before the church, and themselves before France, and France has rejected them. I regret not the late republic, for I never believed it would stand; although, I confess, I wished it to have a fair trial, and should have been better pleased to see its constitution amended than abolished. But the revival of the empire brings with it fears as well as hopes. Napoleon the First was a great man, a great conqueror, but he was not a Charlemagne. He restored the Catholic worship in France, and in concert with Pius VII. he put an end to the schism of the French church; he arrested the revolutionary madness, restored social order, and saved French society from utter annihilation. So far he did nobly, and deserved and received the thanks of the whole Catholic world. But this he did as First Consul, not as Emperor. As Emperor, I am aware of nothing he did that deserves the gratitude or the memory of mankind. God gave him the mission, in concert with the successor of Peter, to reconstruct Christian Europe, but he proved unfaithful to it. He ruled as a despot, not as a Christian prince. The respect he paid to religion was the respect of a politician, not of an humble and devout son of the church; and he evidently served it not for its own sake, but only for the purpose of making it a tool for the establishment of his power. He adopted in church and state the policy of the degenerate Greeks of the Lower Empire, from whom, it is said, he was descended, and followed the example of

Frederick Barbarossa, Henry Plantagenet, Philip the Fair, and Lewis the Fourteenth, instead of that of Charles Martel, Pepin, Charlemagne, and St. Louis. He sought to make the reigning Pontiff the accomplice of his despotism, and failing in this, he stripped him of his states, and dragged him from prison to prison, till indignant Europe rose as one man to liberate him, and send his persecutor to die a prisoner on the barren rock of St. Helena. He was false to his mission, and God rejected him, and overthrew his empire. God permitted the Bourbons to return, and gave them an opportunity to retrieve their former faults. They only proved that they had forgotten nothing and had learned nothing in adversity, and he again rejected them. He now offers to the nephew of the rejected Emperor, under the direction of the Supreme Pontiff, the mission of reconstructing Christian Europe, shaken by a century of infidelity and sixty years of revolution. Will the nephew be faithful to his mission? Will he tread in the footsteps of Charlemagne, or in those of his uncle? If the former, we have everything to hope; if the latter, *he* has everything to fear. Which he will do, perhaps it were not difficult to guess; but it is best to leave him to develop his own policy, for whatever fears for the freedom and independence of the church and the cause of civil liberty in France may be entertained, no good can be effected by expressing them. I wish, indeed, that the Catholics of France before consenting to inaugurate him as Napoleon III., had taken the precaution to obtain a further guaranty than his simple will against civil despotism; and I think it the part of prudence for Catholics everywhere to let it be

clearly understood that they do not identify the cause of Catholicity with any King or Cæsar, and that they hold themselves free to commend the new French Emperor so far as he serves the cause of religion and society, and to disown him so far as he may prove hostile to them. Catholicity cannot sustain the despot any more than it can sustain the mob. If Napoleon turns despot, as I pray God he may not, there will before many years be a new social out-break in Europe, and perhaps it is not too soon for us to prepare for resisting a new *liberal* reaction.

The new Emperor's policy soon began to manifest itself, as is shown by the following letter then on its way from Montalembert:

BRUSSELS, Nov. 12th, 1852.

MY VERY DEAR SIR:—I have as usual to thank you for the continuation of the extremely valuable present you are kind enough to favor me with by sending to me your *Quarterly Review*. I have been particularly struck in the last number I have received by your most excellent considerations on the difference between Roman Law and Common Law, and the influence of this distinction on the whole course of history.* Nothing can be more fatal to the dominion of a real Catholic spirit in the policy of any country in the world, than the influence of that system of laws which was so well resumed by the pagan axiom of the great Roman jurist: *Quod principi placuerit, id legis habet vigorem*. This bad and dangerous doctrine, which was so eagerly caught up by Frederick Barbarossa and Philip the Fair, in their

* See "The Works of Daniel Webster," Brownson's Works, vol. xix., p. 343, etc., and especially p. 358.

struggles with the church of the Middle Ages, is now become once more the fundamental axiom of French legislation! It has found a very able and clever expounder in Mr. Troplong, 1st President of the Court of Appeals of Paris, and who is one of our future Emperor's chief advisers and advocates. In his address to his court, in last April, on taking the new oaths, he very logically and scientifically proved that an *egalitarian despotism*, such as that of the Roman Emperors, was the only effective and durable triumph of *democracy* in the world; and he has been selected, as you see, to draw up the report of the *Senate* in favor of the new Empire which is to be set up on the model of Rome's degenerate Cæsardom. The former pride and revolt of France against the truth and the freedom of God's holy church, has but too well deserved the cruel humiliation which she has now to endure. But what is still more afflicting is that the Catholic cause should appear as an accomplice in what is now going on in France. I trust that your manly and vigorous spirit will not have been led astray by the deplorable attitude and language of the *Univers*, who after having declared in 1848 that royalty was at an end forever, and in 1850 that the Count de Chambord was the *only* chance of salvation for France, *now* becomes the herald and incense-bearer of the new-fangled despotism which our unhappy country has adopted as a preservative against socialism! The bishops who have eulogized the President in such strong language, during his recent peregrinations, I do not pretend to judge: their position is difficult, and they may have good reasons for seeking to gain the favor of the sovereign. But I am most strenuously opposed to

the shameful desertion of the *Univers* and other Catholic periodicals from the ground on which we have all stood for the last twenty years, and on which we have gained such unexpected victories. I have endeavored to give my arguments against this new system of Catholic *absolutism*, in a volume which I have forwarded to you through Messrs. Bossange, and of which six thousand copies have been sold since its publication on the 26th ult. I shall be most anxious to know your opinion on this most momentous subject, as there is no one whose judgment I rank higher than yours. I have annexed to this last production of mine, a speech on the budget, which will explain to you the miserable and derisory constitution which our new master has granted us; also my *Discours de réception* at the French Academy in last February. This oration was written *before* the revolution of last December, and was intended by me to give a lesson of modesty and prudence to the legislative Assembly then in existence; but as I had taken care to protest against democracy and revolution, and to proclaim the rights of Christian freedom and independence, when *spoken* after the *coup d'état*, it was looked upon by His Imperial Highness's Ministers as a piece of rank opposition, and some of the leading passages struck out by the censorship. These passages, however, have been reintegrated in the copy I sent you; and you will thus be able to judge of what is *now* called *opposition* in this country.

It would be too long for me to state all the reasons which I have for my utter want of confidence in the moral worth of Napoleon III. and his system. I know him well: I stood by him *with more decision than*

any one during his quarrel with the honest but foolish majority of the Assembly; and even *after* his *coup d'état* as long as there appeared to be any danger of a renewed attack of socialism. I thought it my duty to do all I could in order to ensure his victory. But since I have seen him use his omnipotence to inflict on the cause of *justice* and *property*, in the case of the house of Orleans, an injury which the triumphant socialists in 1848, refrained from attempting, I have felt it equally my duty to stand aside from any connection with his policy. He has on his side done *nothing* to bring me back. I have seen enough of him to know that he neither understands nor desires the real freedom of the church—he has granted and may still further grant her insignificant favors and trifling advantages, but I should be much mistaken if he ever does anything for the real and permanent interests of religion, for the freedom and dignity of the church, which is still entrapped in the laws of his uncle. I had requested him after the 2nd of December to make use of his dictatorship in order to repeal all these obsolete, but ever dangerous laws, but he declined to do so. As it is, there is not a single liberty, not a single right, of which the church is at present in possession, that is due to him. All are due to our own struggles and victories previous to his accession to the power he is at present invested with.

The language of the *Univers* and its adherents has done already a great deal of harm, and greatly contributed to weaken the influence of religion in the minds of those whom the events of 1848 had led to reflect on the vanity of all social institutions without religion. The old prejudices against the identity of

clergy and despotism are all revived. Prudent Christians will do well to think already of the best means to avoid the perilous consequence of the *liberal* reaction which will most probably follow the present *mascarade*.

I remain, my dear sir, your very faithful friend and servant.

CTE. DE MONTALEMBERT.

My political career being at present closed, I am going to devote myself exclusively to my former historical and monastic studies, as much as my shattered health and fortune will allow me so to do. Pray always address your communications which I trust will be as frequent as possible, to *Paris, Rue du Bac, 40.*

Brownson's observations on the difference of the civil and the common law, to which his correspondent alludes in the foregoing letter, were appropriately inserted in a review of Webster, the great champion of our common law; but he may also, when making them, have had in his mind the request at the end of the following letter lately received from the Bishop of Pittsburg.

PITTSBURG, March 31, 1852.

DEAR SIR:—I have got myself into a regular scrape with my lecture on the Influence of Catholicity, etc. Besides the small fry, two of our biggest guns have divided between them the labor of attacking me. The chief man in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary is to come out with a reply next week. I must take the liberty of requesting you to assist me, in supporting some of my positions. I hope you will have no difficulty in laying your hand on some document that

can be produced to show the decay of Protestantism in France since the beginning of the first revolution, or in any way to show the Protestant population of the two periods. I would feel much indebted also if you could supply me with some works by which I could support the statement made regarding the present condition of the Protestant Church throughout the world. The "Presbyterian looking for a church" is very light on Scotland and gives few proofs of his statements regarding the Presbyterians of Ireland. Any thing that would enable me to bring the charge home to either or both of those bodies would be most useful. You will oblige me by asking Mr. Roddan to be kind enough to supply me with any documentary evidence he may think likely to become necessary. He may easily guess the course the argument is likely to take. Though I do not intend to allow myself to be dragged into a pitched battle, a manly defense of Catholic truth may be productive of good results at the present moment.

The main difficulty, I feel assured, will turn on "religious liberty." I am afraid you would feel inclined to help me in what I should consider the wrong way as far as that is concerned. However, your experience may enable you to point out to me some works that would be useful. I will feel much obliged for anything you could spare me the *loan* of, and I will promise to return any books you send. I am very badly provided with the kind of books likely to become necessary in such a controversy.

Though I think your view of the common law in its connection with Christianity is somewhat different from what I expressed, I am under the impression that

you modified somewhat your opinion of the comparative excellence of the Justinian code. I would be glad and obliged if you gave me, though it were but briefly, your opinion of the general accuracy of the views expressed in my lecture, especially those bearing on the origin of the civil institutions of the country.

I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully in Christ.

† M. O'CONNOR,

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq. Bishop of Pittsburg.

Brownson's opinion of O'Connor's lecture was flattering enough. In answer he wrote April 5th, 1852:

"I this morning received your letter, and have this evening read the lecture to which you allude. You ask me to give you my opinion of it. I am exceedingly difficult to please, and it is rarely that I find the subject you have handled treated so as to satisfy me. Your lecture does satisfy me, and I have read it with intense delight, and I trust not without profit. You may be a trifle more of a republican than I am, and may not think it so necessary to guard against being understood as favorable to modern democracy, as I do, but you have taken high ground, and as I believe, both right and tenable ground; and permit me to say, you are the first and only prelate or priest in the country who, to my knowledge, has taken when treating the subject what I considered the right ground. The Archbishop of New York proved his thesis, but, with so many concessions to Protestants, that I was not pleased with his performance, and all who, so far as I know, have touched it, have virtually conceded that our institutions are of Protestant origin, and limited themselves to proving by reference to historical facts which I regard as

of questionable merit, that Catholics will never let their religion take precedence of their patriotism or their democracy.

"This may be said arrogantly, and in a tone that ill becomes me, but it is not so meant, and nothing more is intended than the frank confession of an opinion, which, if I ought to renounce it, I am ready to renounce, and beg pardon of God and man for. I took the same ground that you have taken in my lectures at St. Louis, and I had previously done so in Montreal and in Philadelphia, and you may be sure I was gratified to find it taken and so ably sustained by the Bishop of Pittsburg.

"There is no essential difference between your estimate of the common law and my own. You speak of the principles and the spirit of that law, and have reference to its precepts or enactments. I had reference to the common-law practice, modes of procedure, etc., and in this sense I have been disposed to give preference to the civil law, though in that I am not very decided. The rogue can more easily escape conviction under the common law than under the civil law, but the innocent is probably better protected. As to the provisions of the two systems, I think upon the whole the English system is to be preferred, though in some instances where there is a difference, I think the advantage is with the civil law. The civil law presumes every man a free man, and every man claiming another man as a slave, must prove his claim; and although the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that such is the presumption of law here, the common law, I am told, knows no such presumption, and a man of a

class usually held in slavery in the state must prove
that he is a freeman. The civil law legitimates the
children born before marriage, if the parents subsequently
marry; the common law bastardizes them. These are
the only two instances I at this moment recollect in
which I am inclined to prefer the Justinian code."

CHAPTER XIV.

SHEPHERD OF THE VALLEY.—GARESCHÉ.—FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.—L'UNIVERS.—A NEW CONSTITUTION SUB- MITTED IN MASSACHUSETTS.—INVITATION TO LECTURE IN THE IRISH UNIVERSITY.

JUST about the time that Brownson, with the assistance of the better class of Catholic journals, and with the aid, or rather under the leadership of Archbishop Hughes and most of the bishops and other clergy, had succeeded in freeing the Catholic body from the European revolutionary madness, came Napoleon's election as Emperor, which was followed by a great reaction, influenced greatly by the Paris *Univers* toward absolutism. They disliked the tone of distrust in which Brownson had spoken of the new emperor, and some who had been inclined to agree with him in his opposition to radicalism, did not share his unwillingness to identify the cause of the church with that of the French Empire. His western friends were less carried away by the change of the wind than the writers and speakers east of the Alleghanies. The editor of the Shepherd of the Valley, also a convert to the Catholic

faith, was mild in his dissent, though he had published an article by a contributor, which Brownson did not like. His letter may be found interesting.

ST. LOUIS, January 7, 1853.

DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I received the Review yesterday evening. So far I have only glanced it over, and read the remarks on Napoleon III. at the head of the Literary Notices.* I don't understand how you can think any kind of a republic in any way suited for Frenchmen, and I cannot conceive why it is necessary to speculate upon the possible wrongs which the Emperor may perpetrate. You yourself admit that he came honestly to his place, that his elevation was a necessity, and that he has acted decently so far. Why should we not be as generous to him as to other men? When I rose from reading the article, I said to myself, "Dii avertite omen!" it is a kind of superstition of mine; but you are *not* a prophet after all, and I don't see why I should be uneasy in my mind. If Napoleon does do the decent thing for ten or twenty years, what a jolly good thing it will be for all of us.

I do not apologize for writing to you, because it is really very little trouble to read a letter, and I do not ask you to answer mine. I wrote to your publisher for the numbers of the Review which I received. I got this number by mail. I am glad of that, for otherwise I do not get it at all. I was at a dinner party at Mr. Alexander Garesché's yesterday (you recollect him, perhaps, I dined there with you when here), and we all drank your health with enthusiasm—it made the wine

* This was the substance of the lecture just given in Boston, already referred to.

taste better, it really did. There is no one who more sincerely rejoices at all honors paid to you than I do. But your reward is not to be of this world.

If you think, as I gather from a very kind letter, I had from Rev. Mr. Roddan, any of my remarks in the paper disrespectful, I am very sorry: it matters nothing to you what I say, but it matters a great deal to me what you think. There is no one living whose good opinion I would rather have than yours; no man whom I more respect; no man who has more entirely my sympathy and love. There are many better capable of appreciating you and feeling what you are worth; but you have been worth everything to me. There was one short notice about that unhappy business with Father Newman which I regret, and I have regretted it still more since I saw Mr. Lucas's comments upon your excellent letter to him. But I do think you have a kind of personal prejudice against Mr. Newman, as an Englishman and a Puseyite, two things which I am sure you dislike. If Mr. Newman had been the man to say G— d—n you to the woman who refused his blessing, according to your story,* you would have omitted some things in your Development articles. I am sure of that. But can he correct the habits of a lifetime? If his superstition is gone, his prim face and manners are pardonable.

My denunciation of Meagher last week has not hurt the paper much. Some of my Irish constituents were enraged; but it will pass. The Archbishop was

* Brownson enjoyed a story he repeated about an Englishman, a convert, and a priest, who, coming from church one morning was met by a woman who he supposed wanted his blessing and giving it her, said, "God bless you." "But I am a Protestant," she said. "God damn you, then," said the jolly clergyman.

much pleased with it; indeed, thought it was my duty. I think I should not have ventured it if he had not gone as near as he ever goes towards intimating to me a wish on the subject. Meagher *is* a humbug, every way a humbug. Why has not the Pilot said so long ago? Donahoe was afraid, I suppose.* Donahoe will have a jolly grill in Purgatory for the evil he has done. I neither forgive nor trust him yet; but Mr. Roddan, in spite of Donahoe, is doing incalculable good. Really it is sublime to see a man sacrifice himself so, "become all things to all men in order that by all means he may gain a few." However, I wish the Pilot would keep out of the far West. It is a useless wish, I know. But the Pilot must necessarily be a more popular paper than anything I can get up here, and may sink the Shepherd yet. Our post-office arrangements are so bad, all the news gets here in the Pilot two days before the Shepherd appears. I see no help for this. Did you see that in the *Univers* about Cahill? He is another humbug, and a very disgusting one, to me. I longed to put that slap in, but the Irishmen everywhere seem to worship Cahill. It is very strange. I wish I was an Irishman: it would be worth a little fortune to me. Many of that nation here *will* think I am prejudiced against it, and almost create the feeling they hate by their continual manifestations of petty jealousy and dislike. On the whole, however, I am treated with much kindness here, and the paper is more likely to live than die. If it does die, I shall not quit the business, for I like it, and will move elsewhere and try it again.

* Patrick Donahoe was the proprietor and manager of the Pilot; Rev. John P. Roddan, the editor.

I know nothing of metaphysics, and I wish to study, but have no one to direct me how to set to work. I have labored under that misfortune all my life. I have always been under teachers whom I could not trust, and yet I am sure I have every disposition to yield myself up when I can find a superior worthy of respect. If you could find time at some odd moment to give me some direction how to set to work—to advise me in any way about my studies you would only do directly what you have been indirectly doing since January, 1848.

I feel ashamed of having spoken so much about myself and of having trespassed so much upon your time. But I remember how kind you were when here, and I believe you will forgive me. If I have trespassed upon you, "I have done this thing in the simplicity of my heart." Emerson is here. I have not heard him yet. Some Unitarian cousins of mine are considerably exercised about him. They think it very pious, as good as preaching: perhaps it is. The Unitarians here are the wealthy sect. Their preacher, Mr. Elliott, is the most popular of our preachers. I am rather glad of it. They are drawing crowds from Brothers Anderson & Co. Father Smarius is in New York, he is a very good man. He is obliged to study and keep quiet. That is all he wants. In five years I think we shall hear of him. What is beautiful, he always speaks with affection and respect of you, and you did lay yourself out to wound him in his tenderest point when you were here.

I am, dear Mr. Brownson, with great respect, your affectionate friend and servant.

R. A. BAKEWELL.

In answering Bakewell's letter, Brownson could but express how strange it seemed that his health should be drunk at Garesché's table just after the appearance in the Shepherd of the Valley of an adverse criticism which he supposed was written by the same Garesché. That this was a mistake is shown in the following letter.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., 29th Jany. 1853.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—It has been my purpose for some weeks past to write to you, but unfortunately such has been the pressure of business that I could not succeed in the fulfilment. I say, for some weeks past, not that you are not constantly in my thoughts, for you are, but I know so well the extent of your correspondence, that I felt that I had no right to intrude without a motive. I suppose you have already heard of Mrs. Dr. Papin's death. It was sweet and touching in the extreme. Repeatedly during her last hours she said to Father Damen, "Oh, how sweet to die in the Catholic Church!" and begged of Father Damen to persuade Mr. Garland to become a Catholic. Mr. G.* is borne down by this second calamity. You know, some eighteen months since he lost another daughter, Mrs. Farrar.

Mrs. Dr. Linton has *at last* become a Catholic. Some two or three week's since she was taken very ill, and human respect had to bow to conviction. She was baptized by Father Damen and (I am happy to say) is improving in health.

Bakewell, meeting me this morning, tells me that

* Hugh A. Garland. The reader of *Brownson's Early Life* may remember the beautiful affection for his daughters when the father proposed to send them to Brook Farm, which he expressed in his letter to Brownson, at p. 308.

it was unexpected by you that your health should be drunk at my table. More unexpected to me was your remark. I was *not* the author of the article in the Shepherd; it was from the pen of my cousin. I never read it, but yet know that whatever might be its language, his feelings towards you are always those of friendship and respect. He is too sincere a Catholic to permit himself to have other feelings than those in your regard; so that had the dinner been at his table, your health would have been as welcome a sentiment as it was at mine.

We had no lectures this year, for the simple reason that a committee was appointed who were compelled to report every week, and felt themselves authorized to decide nothing. Next year another result will, I hope, be shown. Besides, justice to the committee requires the statement that the subject was mooted too late in the season. Next year, then, I hope we shall have the pleasure of again welcoming you to our hospitalities. Mrs. Garesché will exact the fulfilment of your promise to her [to be the guest of the Gareschés during his stay].

Louis Napoleon is to me an anxious thought, for I should so much wish to see the present state of things continued, that the rising generation, moulded after the doctrines of Religion, might supplant the impious generation that now exist. Louis Napoleon recognizes that it is France's love of repose that gave him his throne, and all his professions are for peace, but then again all the préparatifs pour la guerre are so manifest as to excite alarm. I was much pleased (pardon me, but I mean not to be presumptuous) with your article on this subject.

Que Dieu protége la France is my prayer, for I look upon it as synonymous with "foster and protect the church."

Mrs. Garesché begs to be kindly remembered to you. With sentiments of profound respect, your friend and very obedient servant,

ALEX. J. P. GARESCHÉ.

McMaster, as one might suppose from his surname, had to have some one *in [cujus] jurare verba magistri*, and looking abroad for him, he found two such, Bonnetty and Veuillot. Not so original in his thoughts as his admirers believed him to be, he was a strong echo of the opinions of others, so far as he comprehended them. He swore by Bonnetty, and yet it is doubtful if he could have told why he adhered to him any better than Huntington could enunciate the different doctrines of Donoso Cortés and the Civiltà Cattolica. All, or nearly all, our editors of Catholic periodicals, seem to think, after they have met with a certain amount of success on one or more questions, so as to be looked up to by some of their subscribers as authority, that they are competent to write on every science as masters. Not that they have not a latent consciousness of their inferiority on many subjects, but they would not willingly permit their readers to believe that anybody knew more about anything than they. Not Catholic journalists only, but all journalists in this country seem to have this notion. It is said, and it seems in many instances true, that European editors distribute subjects according to the capacity and especial studies and attainments of writers; but here the notion of equality is so universal that the practice is that any

one who can put words into sentences, whether grammatically or not, has, by virtue of our educational system the necessary knowledge and intelligence to discuss whatever is to be discussed. It is not to be wondered at that where everything is taught, superficially it is true, in our public schools, and nothing is taught much more thoroughly in our higher institutions of learning, that both writers and readers should be well content that it is so. The uneducated mass are the judges, and what is above their comprehension is as if it did not exist, or was false. When writers and readers are about on the same level of ignorance, there must be good accord; and when the writer borrows ideas from a foreign source, and gives them forth with the weight of the authority he has acquired with his readers, if these may not understand them any better than he, they are apt to take them on his authority unless they contradict what their religion or their nationalism requires them to hold. But McMaster's following of Louis Veuillot and the *Univers* was more prominently, because more frequently, exhibited in the Freeman's Journal. He had the same zeal and earnestness; the same rashness and imprudence, the same deference to papal, and want of respect for episcopal, authority. He took for his model a journal of which Brownson said he should judge it had studied its ethics of controversy in the school of Pascal or Voltaire; and when its opponents were distinguished Catholics, it forgot truth and decency in their regard, and resorted to wit, sarcasm, ridicule, sneers, misstatement, perversion of meaning, and impugning of motives, as seemed to it necessary or convenient. No fault should be

found with the *Univers* for supporting the new imperial government of France, nor is it to be blamed for advocating absolute government for that country, if such government was then and there necessary; but to advocate it as a necessity for all countries and for all times, as the normal political order, to labor to erect absolutism into a dogma of faith, and to sneer at constitutional liberty and representative government, was to compromise such Catholics as lived under republican or constitutional governments, and to place them and their religion in a false position. So long had Catholicity and absolutism been associated that the conviction was very general that Catholicity has a natural inclination for despotism, and that the church is incompatible with liberty. In vain would Brownson write elaborate essays, or deliver eloquent lectures to prove that his religion is the grand support of civil freedom. His opponents had only to cite against him the conduct of the French prelates, and the columns of the *Univers* and its followers here and in Great Britain, as a practical refutation of his essays and lectures. If he pointed to the deeds of French Catholics from 1830 to 1852, he would be told that those deeds were now disowned and repudiated by the accredited organs of Catholic public opinion. The Catholic journals, and most of all, the Freeman's Journal, sent forth such a burst of indignation when Brownson questioned the infallibility of Louis Veuillot, that he said it could not have been greater if he had questioned that of the Pope.

In May, 1853, Dr. White, editor of the Metropolitan Magazine, invited Brownson to comment on the recent contest between the *Univers* and the Archbishop of

Paris. Perhaps he would have commented on the affair any how.

PIKESVILLE, May 12, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—It was my intention to send you an article on Mr. Wallis' "Spain" before this; but my occupations have prevented me from preparing it as soon as I wished. The article will be ready by the 18th inst. when I will forward it, in the hope that it will not be too late for insertion in your July number. It will occupy about twelve or fourteen pages of your Review. Should you have made all your arrangements for the July number, you will oblige me by dropping me a line to inform me of it, and in that case I will retain the article on Mr. Wallis' book for another time.

I hope you will not forget your promise to write something for the *Metropolitan*, on the topics which I suggested when you were in Baltimore. I shall be much pleased also, to see something in your July number in reference to the *Univers* controversy. Mr. Mc—[McMaster] seems to consider the encyclical of the Pope a perfect triumph for the *Univers*; but I do not see how it can be so construed. The comments of the Review on this point will be looked for with interest.

Wishing you every success in your good work, I remain your humble servant and friend.

CHARLES I. WHITE, D. D.

DR. O. A. BROWNSON.

The article on Wallis's Spain was published in July. In the same number, the Reviewer shows that the Pope's encyclical letter to the Prelates of France, exhorting them to restore and maintain peace among

themselves, and to encourage laymen of truly Catholic spirit to write books and edit journals in defence of religion,—did not touch the merits of the case of the *Univers*. The Archbishop prohibited the *Univers*, Veuillot appealed to Rome, and Rome neither confirmed nor reversed the censure. The censure was not for any doctrine, Brownson said, but “for its inopportune discussions, its violent and sarcastic manner towards its Catholic opponents, the ridicule and contempt it was in the habit of showering upon those ecclesiastics, whatever their rank or respectability, who ventured to question its opinions or statements, and its want of proper respect for the episcopal character and office.”* Veuillot gave assurances that the *Univers*, would study to avoid the things the Archbishop had felt it his duty to censure. The Archbishop of his own accord, as he says, removed the interdict, and thereupon the *Univers* thanked the Archbishop, promised to amend its errors, and to labor to do nothing in the future that might displease him.

On receipt of Brownson’s July number, the N. Y. Freeman’s Journal, in its issue of July 7th, contained an article from McMaster’s pen, which Brownson correctly regarded as highly offensive to him personally. The nature of that article is sufficiently evident from the following observations written by Brownson on the 10th of July, 1853.

JAMES A. McMASTER, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—I must beg you to correct some of the errors into which you have fallen in your last Thursday’s paper in regard to myself and my loyalty as a Reviewer.

* Works, vol iii. p. 151.

You say that you regret that I have felt myself at liberty "to give a running commentary or an interpretation to the recent encyclical of the Holy Father." I might dispute the fact, for my statement with regard to that encyclical was nothing but a brief summary of its contents. But call it what you will, I made it only to correct the false impression in regard to it given by the comments of your own journal and kindred prints. You shouted victory for the *Univers*, and I took the liberty of showing that as between the *Univers* and the Archbishop of Paris there was neither victory nor defeat for either party, as was obvious from the encyclical itself.

You accuse me of reading the *Univers* and M. Bonnetty only in the pages of the *Ami de la Religion*. If you believe so yourself, allow me to set you aright. My censures of the *Univers* were founded on what I read with my own eyes and in its own columns, and in the columns of the Freeman's Journal. You should not imagine that you are the only individual in the United States that has access to the *Univers*. You are entirely mistaken in regard to my feelings towards the *Univers*. The only passage I ever saw in it unfriendly to myself I charged to your Journal which had misled it. I have never wished to see that paper discontinued, but I have wished to see it conducted with a more Catholic temper and with more consideration for those Catholics who do not happen to agree with it in all its opinions.

I have read the *Univers* in the New York Freeman's Journal far more than in the *Ami*, and it is from your own Journal, aside from his own writings, that I

derive all my knowledge of M. Bonnetty's philosophy. I am not in the habit of judging authors I have not read, and if I speak of one whom I have not read, or on the representation of another, I always say so. You accuse me of never having read a single article of M. Bonnetty, treating of the rights and competence of reason, from beginning to end. The accusation you yourself personally know to be untrue. For I read from his own periodical one such article to you in your own room, and forced you to acknowledge that he changed from traditionalism to rationalism, and from rationalism to traditionalism according to the exigencies of his argument, conceding at one moment all his opponent asked, and at the next reasserting all his opponent denied. I have not read all that M. Bonnetty has published—have you?—but I have read him, in his own periodical, the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne*, on all the points on which I have criticised his doctrine. I have had also your statement of his philosophy as contrasted with that of the Catholic rationalists, and I am not at liberty to suppose that you undertook to expound to me M. Bonnetty's philosophy without understanding it. I have studied his philosophy as I learned it from his own writings, from his own statement and defence of it against Dom Gardereau and Father Chastel, and my understanding of it coincides with the statements of it heretofore given in the Free-man's Journal.

Instead of telling your readers you did not believe I had ever had a volume of his works in my possession for six hours in my life, it would have been more to your purpose to have convicted me of misstating his

doctrine, a thing you have not done, or to have shown that my criticism was unjust, also a thing you have not done. Had you done this, you would have served both your friend and yourself. As it is, you have merely tried to abuse me without vindicating him,—a very uncatholic mode of conducting a controversy.

You virtually charge me with borrowing from M. Nicholas the principles and ideas of Bonnetty, and then using them to relieve M. Bonnetty of the embarrassments under which I suppose him to labor. This renders you as near merry as I ever saw you. I am grieved to spoil your sport. But the principles and ideas in question, whether Bonnetty's or not, happen to have been held and published by me in my Review before ever I heard of M. Nicholas or read a line of Bonnetty. I brought them out in my Review for October, 1851,* in the same connection and almost in the same terms, showing how they solved the difficulties of both traditionalists and rationalists. You found serious fault with them then; you never hinted that they were Bonnetty's, but simply misstated them and abused me for spelling Bonnetty's name with an *i* instead of a *y*. You accept my doctrine on the subject now, and call it Bonnetty's; but you cannot have forgotten that on every previous occasion when I have brought it out, you snarled at it, and abused me for it. You cannot have forgotten the hour after hour we have disputed on the doctrine, and I assure you that I am very glad to reckon on you as a convert, notwithstanding the ill grace with which you avow your conversion.

I never lay a wager, for it is against my principles,

* Page 441.—Works, vol. iii, pp. 140, et seq.

and a wager at best is a very indifferent sort of an argument, but I will hold myself very much obliged to you, if you will produce either from M. Nicholas or M. Bonnetty, or any of his friends, anything like a clear and distinct recognition of the doctrine I have stated in my last Review and which you accept, by which I propose to reconcile the traditionalists to Catholic rationalists. The passages you have cited apparently with such a purpose do not touch the point. Between what you give as Bonnetty's doctrine, and mine as I myself state and explain it, not as you inadequately and very inaccurately reproduce it, there is a wide difference. You may find in M. Nicholas and in M. Bonnetty the want of the doctrine I maintain on the subject; but you will, unless I greatly deceive myself, hardly find the doctrine itself.

No doubt, M. Bonnetty asserts in words "the validity of human reason for knowing the truth, and distinguishing truth from error," but the question lies not there. Can he, with his doctrine that we can know principles even in the natural order only as supernaturally revealed and taught us, consistently so assert? If he can, how? Give me, if you can, from his writings, or those of his friends, an answer to these two questions, and especially the last, and I will acknowledge that I have done injustice to your French friend.

After all, you seem to me to have taken up the defence of M. Bonnetty with unnecessary warmth. I have no hostile feelings towards that distinguished writer. Convict me of having done him injustice, and I shall be ready to take the earliest opportunity to

make him all the reparation in my power. I regard him as an able man, as a man of considerable reading, who has glimpses of great philosophical truths, which in these days is much; but I do not happen to regard him as a metaphysician. But not to be a metaphysician is no sin; it is only an inconvenience when one insists on writing or talking of metaphysics.

You attack with great severity the Abbé Cognat, the principal editor of the *Ami de la Religion*. I know nothing of his personal character, and I am not generally well posted up in Parisian or even New York gossip. As a writer, the Abbé does not lack ability, and as far as I can judge, and I am impartial, since I agree with neither, he has the better of the argument against Bonnetty; but you are quite mistaken in supposing that I have formed my judgment of M. Bonnetty's system from his representations.

In conclusion, I think, on reperusing your notice you will perceive that it was undignified, ungentlemanly, rash, and unchristian, as unworthy of you as undeserved by me. If you wish for war with me be manly enough to declare it openly, and act above board. I neither seek nor reject your friendship: your feelings or your conduct towards me personally are matters of indifference to me; but for the sake of the cause we both profess to have at heart, I should be pleased to see you more disposed to keep the solemn promise made to me over a year ago, and that you would express your dissent from my views when you have occasion to do so without imitating the "veriest swab of the radical press," in those gentlemanly terms due from one Catholic editor to another. I do not think, were you to do so, that you

would sink in your own estimation or in that of the public, and I am sure Catholic interests in this country would not suffer from it. You seem to me to have chosen a bad model, and to defend Catholicity in a Protestant spirit, proceeding on the principle that the end justifies the means. I wish for your own sake and for the sake of the cause you would correct this, and study to defend henceforth the truth in a truthful manner.

I have the honor to be etc.

O. A. BROWNSON.*

After having for many years kept himself aloof from local politics, Brownson thought in 1853, that all good citizens, who understood the danger which Massachusetts was in of having its constitution very seriously impaired, should exert their influence against the proposed change. These objections to the amendment are set forth in the following letter, published in the Boston Courier, a Whig journal, with some prefatory remarks commanding "it to the careful consideration" of its readers.

CHELSEA, October 17, 1853.

J. P. HEALY, ESQ.,

MY DEAR SIR:—I was much pleased to learn from our conversation the other day that your views of the proposed amendments to the Constitution so fully coincide with my own. It is, I assure you, no slight gratification to find my strong repugnance to them shared by one so well qualified, both in a legal and a political point of view, to judge of their real character and tendency.

Allow me to hope, my dear sir, that you will not

* MS. Draft of letter.

fail to use your full influence with the public to secure their rejection by the people in the approaching election. This is no time for any one, who regards the honor of the Old Bay State, or the credit of representative government at home or abroad, to be silent or inactive ; and I deeply regret that such is the estimation in which I am held by my fellow-citizens, that I can only record my individual vote against these uncalled-for and dangerous amendments. Such is not the case with you. You have influence, and I beg you to use it.

In my early life, destitute of experience, and carried away by a blind enthusiasm, I indulged some radical tendencies and encouraged them in others, for which I humbly ask pardon of God and my countrymen. I knew not what I was doing, and the evil I then did unhappily renders me impotent now to do much good. But I have learned as my head has grown gray with years and reflection, and especially from deplorable developments of radicalism during the past few years, that nothing can be more fatal to the public virtue and social well-being than the continual change and alteration of the constitution of the state. The very idea of a state is of something fixed and permanent, generating and regulating motion indeed, but remaining itself always immovable and at rest. It is this immobility, this permanence amidst all the changes of human affairs and fluctuations of human passions and opinions, that makes it, as it were, a second Providence, that endears it to our hearts, inspires our confidence, commands our loyalty, and renders submission to its enactments a pleasure as well as a duty.

It is possible that time and its vicissitudes may

now and then demand some modifications of the original Constitution; but if so, they should always be as few and as slight as possible, and introduced with a delicate and most reluctant hand. The Constitution should be regarded as sacred and inviolable, and as long as it is possible under it to secure the great ends of civil society, it should be held to be fixed and unalterable. The evils accruing must be great and intolerable to warrant its alteration; no human government can prevent all evils and inconveniences; under the best government the wit of man can devise there will always be much to be endured, and seldom are we able by constitutional changes to guard against one class of evils without opening the door to another no less grave. Perfection in anything human is never to be expected, and as long as the evils can be endured without sacrificing the great purposes of our existence, it is better to endure them than to attempt to redress them by rushing upon a wild sea of experiments.

We have thus far been able to live, and even to thrive under our old Constitution, and nothing indicates that we might not continue to do so. The Constitution says, in its preamble, that "the end of the institution—the maintenance and administration of government—is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it and to furnish the individuals who compose it the power of enjoying in peace and tranquility their natural rights and the blessings of life." Will any one pretend that this end has not thus far been secured in this state, and more amply, perhaps, than in any other commonwealth, ancient or modern? But it is, according to the Constitution itself, only when this end is not secured

that "the people have the right to alter the government and to take measures for their safety, prosperity, and happiness." The only case in which the Constitution authorizes the people to alter the government has not yet arisen, and therefore these proposed amendments are unconstitutional and unjustifiable. The people, undoubtedly, have the right to make the Constitution and to institute government; but when they have once made it, and instituted the government, they are bound, collectively and individually, by it, and have no right to alter or modify it, except in those cases recognized by the Constitution itself, and in the mode it prescribes.

There is certainly no urgent necessity for amending the Constitution under which we enjoy the blessings of life in as high a degree as it is in the power of civil government to confer, and without such urgent necessity no amendments are authorized by the Constitution. To touch that sacred instrument for slight or trivial causes, is the part of folly, not of wisdom; and to expose the Constitution to be tampered with according to the whims or caprice, the passions or opinions, the favorite theories or the selfish purposes of whatever party happens for the time to be predominant, is to deprive it of its character as a Constitution, to render all firm and stable government impracticable, to abandon the state to the mercy of ever-fluctuating parties, passions, and opinions, and in the end to sacrifice civil society itself.

If it were true, as it is not, that some modifications of the Constitution are desirable, the present is no time for introducing them; party divisions are now too numerous, party spirit runs too high, and the people are too much influenced by the demagogues, who, much

to their own astonishment, have had the principal control of public affairs during the last two or three years, to render the attempt safe or prudent. The people are not now sufficiently calm and sober to judge with their usual practical wisdom and good sense what amendments are or are not desirable. They are too much under the influence of the interests and the passions of the moment to decide wisely on matters of such grave importance; and prudence would therefore counsel us to postpone the altering of the Constitution to a season of greater calmness and sobriety, and of fewer party divisions and less party excitement.

But I object not only to the time, but also to the mode in which these proposed amendments are brought before the people. Our fathers loved liberty and hated anarchy. They sought to establish a constitutional government which, while strong enough to govern, should yet be too weak to oppress. They organized such government according to their wisdom and ability. They did not claim absolute perfection for their work, nor wish absolutely to exclude all future amendments. But while they permitted amendments to be made, if they should become absolutely necessary, they wished to make their introduction difficult, and at the same time to avoid the terrible necessity of resorting to revolution, whether violent or peaceful.

The mode in which the proposed amendments are brought before the people contradicts their aim in both respects. This mode is that of a convention, and the vote of a simple majority of the people. According to it, a simple majority of the voters can change the Constitution when and as they please. If this be so, there

can be little more difficulty in altering the Constitution than in repealing an ordinary legislative enactment, and a constitutional provision will not essentially differ from such enactment. All then that would be necessary on the part of the majority wishing a confessedly unconstitutional law, would be simply to begin by altering the Constitution, which at most could occasion only a brief delay. This would render the majority absolute, and remove all effectual constitutional check on their arbitrary will, directly in contradiction of the fundamental idea of constitutional government. The object of the Constitution is not merely to confer on the majority the power to govern, but to limit their power, and to protect the rights of minorities and individuals. But if the Constitution itself be placed under the power of the majority, alterable at their pleasure, minorities and individuals have no constitutional protection, and are at the mercy of the arbitrary and irresponsible will of the majority. The government is then no longer a constitutional government, but a government of arbitrary will, and therefore a despotism, as decidedly so as that of the Grand Turk.

The convention was undeniably convened for the purpose of making a simple majority suffice to alter the constitution. The act convening it passed by a bare majority of the legislature, a bare majority of the people approved that act, and the proposed amendments, if adopted, will be adopted only by a bare majority. Hence, a bare majority in high party times and under the influence of selfish demagogues, ignorant of the simplest elements of political science, may, when they please, change the fundamental law of the State. You

and I, then, who happen to be in the minority, have no constitutional protection; we hold our rights, our property, our conscience, our wives and children, and our lives at the mercy of any party or faction that happens for the time being to be able to command a majority of votes. And this is what is called liberty, progress, keeping up with the spirit of the age! I cannot believe that this noble old Massachusetts, the mother and nurse of American institutions, has become so dead to her past glory, so forgetful of the free and lofty principles she has hitherto professed, or so insensible to the honor of republican government, as to sanction this base attempt to destroy our liberties by adopting these proposed amendments. I persuade myself that something of her old fire still burns in her bosom, and that as she resisted *à l'outrance*, the mad attempts of a trans-Atlantic tyrant to reduce her to political slavery, she will be no less prompt and resolute to resist the modern attempts of her own degenerate sons, with un-American hearts and principles, to reduce her to still more ignoble slavery,—the slavery of the mob.

However, the amendments come before us from an illegal and revolutionary body. I raise here no question as to the abstract right of revolution, but I will say, and I think you will not contradict me, that these amendments are revolutionary in their source, and that we cannot vote for them without sanctioning a revolution. The convention which proposed them was an illegal and unconstitutional, and therefore a revolutionary body, as much so as the suffrage convention of Rhode Island. The constitution, I grant, may be altered, but not

without revolution, except by its own authority, and in the mode which it itself prescribes. A convention for amending it, unless convened by its authority, is not legal, but revolutionary. The convention which framed these amendments was not so convened, for there is no provision in the Constitution authorizing a convention of the people for any purpose whatever. The constitutional mode of amending the Constitution in most of the states of the Union is by way of a convention of the people, but such is not the constitutional mode adopted in Massachusetts. The Constitution of this State provides another method for its own amendment, and it is only in that method that it can be amended without revolution. You know, my dear sir, that I have the highest legal authority in the Commonwealth for my assertion, and it has been said, and I have reason to believe truly said, that more than one of our eminent jurists refused to accept seats in the convention on the ground that they held it to be an unconstitutional, and therefore a revolutionary body.

I am aware that it is said by the friends of the convention that the Constitution prescribes another mode only in the case of specific amendments, and that there is no constitutional mode but that of a convention for the general revision of the Constitution. This is, no doubt, the fact. But since the Constitution provides only for specific amendments, and does not authorize a convention for its general revision, it follows that only specific amendments are constitutional, and that the people have excluded and intended to exclude all others. The argument, if it proves anything, proves that the Constitution provides only for

specific amendments, and that no others are possible without a revolution, which is precisely what I contend. As the convention was a revolutionary body, and as these amendments do not come before me in the mode prescribed by the Constitution, I cannot vote for them without sanctioning a revolution and violating that very Constitution which, as a good citizen, I am bound to support, if need be, even to the sacrifice of my life.

Massachusetts has always prided herself on being an order-loving and a law-abiding state. Is she prepared at the bidding of a few demagogues, who are incapable of seeing beyond the interests and passions of the moment and who have only their selfish prejudices to subserve, to forego what has hitherto been her honest pride and her honorable distinction, and sanction the wild and revolutionary doctrines of the day by adopting these uncalled-for, unjustifiable, and dangerous amendments? Is the glory of this old Bay State, the home of our interests and affections, and whose honor you and I feel is our own, to pass away forever? Let us not believe it. Let us hope that she still loves freedom, is still attached to constitutional government, and that she will cover her enemies and the enemies of republican institutions with confusion.

But even if I could make the impossible supposition that these amendments come before the public in a constitutional mode, I could not vote for them. I do not see in them the broad good sense, the calm judgment, the deep practical wisdom of the sovereign people, seeking to provide for the future peaceful and salutary government of the state: I see in them only the low cunning and subtle craft of party seeking to provide for

its own domination. They indicate no statesmanship, no honest purpose, no regard for principle. I see in them only the hand of the demagogue. They are unstatesmanlike, for they attempt to incorporate into the Constitution, in those sections devoted to the organization of the militia as well as in several others, matters which should be left to the ordinary legislation, and which were evidently attempted to be inserted in the Constitution only for the purpose of securing votes for the proposed amendments. Through them all, so far as they are of any importance, there runs the low policy of short-sighted politicians which looks only to the temporary success of party, and never embraces the genuine and permanent interests of a Commonwealth.

Almost all these proposed amendments are framed in the immediate and temporary interests of the present Coalition,* and more especially to the Free-Soil section of the Coalition. Free-Soilism may be a magnificent thing, but how long is it likely to last? Whatever it may be in itself, or whatever people may think of it, it is but a temporary thing, not one of the great and permanent interests of the Commonwealth, needing to be recognized and provided for in the Constitution. The Wilsons, the Boutwells, the Griswolds, the Butlers, are no doubt, important personages, but they are mortal, and will die one of these days. They will pass away and perhaps leave no issue. That may be a calamity, but it is not likely that the Commonwealth will pass away with them. It will probably survive them, and its great and permanent interests remain, and it is

* The Democrats and Free-Soilers had coalesced in Massachusetts two years before, and were in power in that state.

precisely for these interests the Constitution ought to provide.

Parties in a constitutional state are inevitable, but the Constitution ought never to be made by them, nor for them. It should be above them, over them, controlling them, and saying to them even in the pride of their power, "Thus far, but no further." They should be kept under, never suffered to get into, the Constitution. Nothing is more unstatesmanlike than to frame a series of amendments to the Constitution for the express purpose of elevating the Free-Soil party to power, and furnishing it with the means of cramming down the throats of a reluctant people all the insane and dangerous fanaticisms unhappily so rife amongst us. It is bad enough to have these fanaticisms obtain in the community to the great discomfort of all quiet and sober people, without giving them a constitutional sanction. No sober man, I should suppose, whatever his party or his favorite *ism*, would wish to have the Constitution tampered with for such a narrow, temporary, and unworthy purpose.

Yet this purpose is apparent in all the more important of the proposed amendments, and manifests itself in what would be the most amusing contradiction, if the subject were not so grave. Take the provision with regard to representation. The Convention sees that Free-Soilism cannot be sure of the Senate, if Senators are chosen according to the present mode, and so they propose to district the state for the Senate, each district choosing only one Senator. The principal strength of the Free-Soil party lies in the small country towns, so it is proposed to augment, relatively, their

representative power, and to diminish that of the cities and larger towns. In organizing the Senate, the Convention insists on the principle of equality; in organizing the House of Representatives, it turns its back on equality and insists on the most outrageous inequality. Wherefore? Simply because Free-Soilism cannot obtain a majority without "rotten boroughs." Yet to make the purpose the more apparent, the Convention provides for districting the state for representatives after 1855, the time allotted, I suppose, for the duration of Free-Soilism. If the district system for representatives is proper for 1856, why is it improper for 1854? Who sees not that the whole proceeding has another purpose than the one avowed? I will not dwell on the attempt, for party purposes, to augment the power of the small towns and to diminish that of the large towns and cities, but I cannot help remarking the singular feature of making the Senate (regarded as the higher,) the *lower* branch of the government. Under the proposed system, the Senate represents the people, and the lower house represents corporations.

The same motive is apparent in the proposed changes of the tenure of the Judiciary and in the function of jurors. The Convention did not dare go so far as to make the judges elected by the people; but they struck an equally effective blow at the independence of the judiciary in altering the tenure of office from during good behavior to a brief term of years, and providing for the reappointment of the judges, thus disposing them, as they wish to be reappointed, to favor the party that happens to be in power. Here the Convention adopt one of the principal grievances com-

plained of against the British Crown, and which led to the war of independence. The judges have been much in the way of Free-Soilism and kindred fanaticisms. It was necessary, therefore, not only to strike a blow at their independence, but also to break their power. This the Convention propose to do by giving the jury the right to determine the law as well as the fact. This throws the whole judicial power into the hands of the jury, and reduces the judge to little more than a mere chairman, whose duty is simply to preserve order.

I have no leisure to pursue this analysis any further. But consider what would be our condition if these proposed amendments should be adopted. A solemn sanction will be given to the principle, that a simple majority is competent to alter the Constitution when and as they please, and also that they may do it not only without, but in defiance of, a constitutional provision. The provisions, then, proposed by the Convention for the future alteration of the Constitution, even if adopted, will bind the majority no more than the present, and the Constitution therefore virtually is abrogated, and constitutional government abandoned. The majority for the time being may govern as it pleases.

Add this to the destruction of the independent judiciary, and the conversion of the judges into politicians and demagogues, and the clothing of any twelve irresponsible jurors, chosen by lot, with the supreme judicial authority of the Commonwealth, and tell me what protection can we count on for justice, for liberty, for vested rights, for property, or for life. The judge,

if even disposed, has no judicial function; that is transferred to the jury, who know little of law, and who, we may be sure, will never find the law in favor of one they wish to condemn, or against one they would acquit. We should henceforth be governed not by law, but by the will of an irresponsible majority; justice will be dispensed not according to law, but according to the passions or the prejudices of jurors. The law will not govern, but the mob, led on by the art and craft of low, selfish, and contemptible demagogues. That, sir, is what the proposed amendments will prepare the way for. They are directly opposed to the principle and end of constitutional government, and if I had the public confidence as I once had it, and when I deserved it far less than I do now, I would thunder this in the ears of my fellow-citizens, day and night, till election time.

Forgive me the warmth with which I speak, for I feel deeply; forgive me also for having trespassed so long on your time, and believe me,

Very truly and sincerely yours,

O. A. BROWNSON.

Brownson and Healy were most intimate friends, / Healy being a cousin of Brownson's wife; but though one called himself a Democrat, and the other a Whig, there was a stronger bond of friendship than that affinity, growing out of concord of opinion on everything connected with the principles of free government, and the science of law. Healy's sound judgment was recognized by Daniel Webster (his law partner), and by all the best lawyers of Boston. Whenever Brownson had occasion to discuss a question

at all connected with law, domestic or international, he made it his practice to consult Healy, and was often indebted to him for references. When he addressed the letter to him it was, of course, for publication, and the opponents of the proposed changes in the constitution urged Brownson to address the people in the principal towns of the State in opposition to them. For the two or three weeks immediately preceding the election in November, Brownson had the satisfaction of "thundering in the ears" of his fellow-citizens his objections to the alterations; which he did with such force that the defeat of the amendments was attributed to him more than to any other one person.

〔About the beginning of 1854, Brownson was invited by the Rector of the proposed Catholic University of Ireland to lecture on geography, as is more fully set forth in the letter here given:

EDGBASTON, BIRMINGHAM, December 15, 1853.

SIR:—You will not be surprised that the persons engaged in the task of starting the new Catholic University of Ireland, should betake themselves to the United States for aid in doing so, or that they should direct their eyes towards a writer so well known and so highly endowed as yourself.

Of course we feel it impossible to offer you any inducement sufficient to lead you to connect yourself personally with the institution, nor indeed are we ourselves yet in a position to make such an offer to any one. But we have thought we might still avail ourselves of the name and assistance of various eminent Catholics, in a way which it is possible both for them and for us to contemplate.

What I take the liberty of asking you, is, whether you would consent to accept the office of Lecturer Extraordinary for (we will say) a year. I am asking the like favor of Dr. Döllinger of Munich, and others of similar literary distinction. The office would not involve residence, but only the delivery of one or two courses of lectures, as might be convenient to the lecturer. And the year proposed would be that running from the autumn of 1854 to the autumn of 1855.

The subject which I should propose to your acceptance would be one of such surpassing interest and breadth that I am often surprised that it is not put more prominently forward in Collegiate establishments. We never omit a professorship of astronomy, but how much more fertile a subject of thought is the province of geography! Viewed under its different heads, as physical, moral, and political, it gives scope to a variety of profound philosophical speculations, which will at once suggest themselves to your mind. It treats of the very stage and field of all history; of the relation of that field to the characters of nations, to social institutions, and to forms of religion, of the migrations of tribes, the direction and course of conquests and empires, the revolutions and extension of commerce, and the future destinies of the human race. This is the subject I offer to your acceptance.

Should it fall into your views to offer us your aid in the way I propose, I am sure a course of lectures on any such subjects as those which I have set down, from so brilliant a writer, would be thronged by the educated classes of Dublin, classes at once numerous and highly intelligent, and would be of great moment and effect in

the commencement of a great, an anxious, and a most religious undertaking.

You are the first person to whom I have applied, and hoping I may succeed in my object, I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
Of the Oratory.

To DR. BROWNSON,
&c., &c.

Had Newman proposed the history of philosophy, or the philosophy of history as the subject of the lectures, it is very possible that Brownson would have accepted the offer; but aside from the fact that he had not made it a special study, geography with him was not allowed to have had so much influence on morals and religion as is pretended by a large number of speculators on this matter, and as Newman's expression, taken in connection with his well known views, might seem to imply. Sir John (now Lord) Acton proposed, however, one easy solution of the difficulty, in case the subject was not changed, and one often resorted to by public speakers—not only in universities, but generally everywhere—of treating of any matter they please without regard to the text, or to the subject which they are supposed to be explaining. He wrote:

MUNICH, Saturday, May the 13th, 1854.

DEAR DR. BROWNSON :—Since September the intention of writing to you to thank you for your great kindness to me and to renew an intercourse which has afforded me so much pleasure and instruction, has never been absent from my mind. I have always put it off as a great treat, as a boy keeps a tart a while

before he eats it. An occasion for writing now presents itself, and I take it with the greatest delight. I have just returned from England, where I have been spending several weeks. I was told there by some of Newman's friends that he has written to you to request your coöperation in starting a Catholic University which is so much wanted and wished for among us. On my arrival this morning your son confirmed this report to me, and gave me to understand that you would not be disinclined to come over if the subject proposed for you to lecture on was more suited to your tastes and your studies. I cannot say how glad I am that there is a prospect of thus bringing you over for a time at least, and I cannot help adding the particle of influence I may possess as being more intimate with you than anybody else in England, and as being most profoundly convinced that you would find this a most happy opening. I will undertake in the first place to remove your difficulty about the subject-matter of your lectures, for I am quite certain that they would be too happy to let you lecture on opossums if you chose to communicate your good things in that way. The vast field of philosophy will be yours, and you will have an opportunity of making philosophical questions familiar to a nation hitherto barely acquainted with them, and I thank God for the good fortune of my countrymen in being initiated in that magnificent science by you of all men living. I am sure you will see how much may here be done for the glory of God, and I do most sincerely hope that nothing will prevent its being done. I can speak with perfect confidence of the facilities which will be given you to choose your own subject, for

I am intimately acquainted with Newman's closest friends, and I know the immense price they attach to the prospect of an alliance with you in this work. I will write at once to them on this point, and this obstacle, if not already removed, as I know not what communications you have had with Newman, will at once disappear. It is very probable that this University may be exceedingly effective in promoting Catholic learning and Catholic literature in England and Ireland. Nobody can give it such an impulse as you. Assuredly the part you take in this work will not be the least meritorious of your actions, nor the smallest claim on our gratitude. I only regret we have nobody to do for history what you can do for philosophy. Let me remind you how deficient the Irish and even the English Catholics are in sound moral principles of politics, and what the country and the cause will gain if you imbue them with such treasures as are contained in your articles on Rights and Duties, for an instance out of many, and in those last admirable discourses of an old fogie.* We have no such old fogies in England. Alas! you are well aware that the only students of philosophy in England (of course I always include Ireland), are those disciples of the Germans who maintain and read the Westminster Review. They are not wanting in numbers, they are not deficient in men of talent like Carlyle. They are numerically always increasing, and their doctrines are developing themselves and deteriorating by sure degrees. Who can resist their progress? All the world

* "Uncle Jack and His Nephew, or Conversations of an Old Fogey with a young American." Works, vol. xi., p. 165, &c.

knows that Protestantism is no match for Infidelity, and offers no weapons to refute it. We Catholics have no philosophy; no philosophical writers exist among us. Indeed, it is pretty certain that they would not be worth much if we had them. I know not how they could have grown up. You alone can prepare us for the great controversies by founding among us a school and arming it with the principles of a sound philosophy. I believe that the historical proof ought to accompany the philosophical proof, and that we can well use both the History of Philosophy and the Philosophy of History. In choosing History for my occupation through life I am actuated by a hope of following your example in another field, and I hope that according to the measure of my powers I may be of some service in my time by promoting the knowledge of the great truths that are taught in the History of the World. Independently of your lectures, I am sure it will be an excellent thing if you come over to Europe. Your intercourse will be as an infusion of new blood in many societies, in Dublin, in London, in Paris, and in other places. There are many who will be very glad to know you, and very many who will be all the better for it. Neither do I think you will have any reason to regret it for yourself. I think you will find it a great satisfaction to know several persons in Europe. You will be able to make yourself more accurately acquainted with much recent literature than it is possible to do at a distance. I believe you will find that there are many persons who have deserved a great local reputation, but whose books do not get beyond a certain limit, for books

travel very slowly, with a few exceptions, from nation to nation ; and there are many good things which wise men keep to themselves and that do not find their way into books, and that one gathers in conversation. I am confident, for instance, that in the matter of political philosophy I could make you acquainted with German writers whose fame has never crossed the Atlantic, but who would please you as much as Radowitz. Long before Newman wrote to you, when I used often to recall the happy hours I spent with you at Emmitsburg and at Boston, and to reflect on ! the excellent things you told me, and on your great kindness, and to read your essays, 'the idea came constantly into my mind that it would be a great thing if you came over to Europe, and particularly to Germany, for that you could here collect much that you could afterwards use to the great advantage of the church. It seems to me that there is no science nobler than one which has no name in literature, than the science of Burke and Maistre, and Donoso / Cortés. I believe that a system of laws for those that govern and for those that are governed, a system of political philosophy, if there is no better expression, that such a system remains to be drawn up by a philosopher who should know all the truths that those great writers have discovered, and who should reconcile all the scattered fragments with each other by theories derived from the certain doctrines of the church ; such a system as Montalembert speaks of in his life ! of Donoso Cortés as being a medium between the theories of Gioberti and those of Bonald. Is not such a work a fit undertaking for you who have contributed

so much to it in your Essays? I sincerely wish a speedy birth and a long life to the philosophical letters which you told me were in preparation. They will be a proof that your Review does not prevent you from carrying on a large work at the same time. Then I venture to hope that when you have crowned your studies in one line with that book you will also set the crown to your Essays in political philosophy by such a work as I speak of. A writer may influence and instruct both his contemporaries and posterity. By means of a review he can exercise a much more constant and prolonged influence on his own time than by sending forth a single book. But a journal cannot live like a book. It is too voluminous, much of the interest is temporary, much is merely local. Even such a collection of essays as you have published, and will I hope publish several more, must become after a time a literary curiosity to a certain degree, and cannot continue to have the same effect as a book which is one whole, both in matter and in form as a work of art. Therefore, although any essay you write on the principles of politics deserves to be preserved in a collective edition, no quantity of them will be as good as a single work exhausting the subject and complete in its parts. I believe that besides your fame as an historical personage in America, your most desirable and deserving reputation in literature would be founded on such a task as this. This thought has often crossed my mind since we parted, and I am sure you are of all men the most fitted for the undertaking. I have often wished to send you some German works on these subjects, and I have given Dolman * one or two for you. But you

* The London publisher of an English edition of Brownson's Review.

must first of all come to Europe and make acquaintance with the books and the writers here. To inspect the action of the European forms of government would itself probably interest you. I have spoken on these subjects perfectly freely and openly, mindful of our conversations and trusting that you will not think my confidence presumptuous or my friendship intrusive. Your writings, your conversation, and your individuality have afforded me matter for long meditations, and this thought has always appeared to me so natural that I have ventured to communicate it to you. Many good books have owed their origin to the solicitations of persons hardly better fitted to appreciate them and hardly more intimate with the author than is the case with me, and I am encouraged by the promise you have already made me of writing on the Mormons. One satisfactory result at least I looked forward to, namely, a letter from you. If I do not provoke you to write a book or an article, I hope at least I shall provoke you to write a letter.

I hope you have not forgotten your promise of collecting for me a complete set of your Review, and of keeping your eye on materials for Professor Döllinger's work on the Reformation. I shall be very glad to know whether I can execute any commissions for you, and whether you would like more works of Radowitz or others of the same kind. If you have not seen Gratry's work *De la Connaissance de Dieu*, you should order it from Paris. More volumes are to appear on Logic and Psychology. It is far superior to many works you notice. Indeed, I have sometimes regretted that you devote so much attention to writers of so little general

importance, but I explain it by circumstances connected with the teaching of philosophy in the American schools. I hope you will divide your cloak among your sons and friends, and letting them deal with the Civiltà Cattolica and the Ami de la Religion, will turn your face towards Europe and your attention to the achievement of a great work. I might fill sheet after sheet with matter of little importance but that I should be glad to talk to you about, but I will add nothing incongruous to the seriousness and tediousness (I fear) of my letter, and will only renew my assurances of deep gratitude towards you and I need not say what profound admiration.

Trusting that you will sometimes think of me with kindness and that you will not forget me in your prayers, I remain, my dear Dr. Brownson, most affectionately and sincerely yours,

JOHN DALBERG ACTON.

The Catholic journals in the United States very generally approved the proposed lecturing by Brownson in the Irish University. Their tone was about the same as one here quoted:

"DR. BROWNSON.—We rejoice to hear that this gentleman's talents and services have been acknowledged by the offer of a chair in the Irish University. No compliment could be better deserved than this spontaneous act on the part of the University authorities towards the first of writers on this continent. Mr. Brownson, should he accept the office thus tendered, will fulfil its duties with credit to himself and vast benefit to the institution which designs to raise him to an honorable and prominent place in the faculty. The

University, in selecting Mr. Brownson, acknowledges in the most delicate and touching way the claims of American Catholics on favors within its gift. And we rejoice that the selection of the University in this case is such as to give satisfaction to all who have contributed anything towards the institution itself. The change in the position of Mr. Brownson, should it occur, will not interfere with the publication of the Review. We have given our opinion of it freely before, though this opinion was not always favorable. We would consider even the temporary suspension of the Review little less than a literary calamity."

Brownson's letter to Newman, objecting to the subject of Geography, was replied to as follows:

16 HARCOURT ST., DUBLIN, June 6, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you very much for your kind letter, which I received a few days ago. As to what you say about myself, I deeply feel that this is a day above all others in which the children of Holy Church need to be united, and bear upon her enemies with their entire and concurrent force. Much more should those be one, who have been so wonderfully brought out, each in his own way, according to the will of Sovereign Love and Power, from darkness to light. If there is one misery greater than another, it is division among Catholics, when their walls are beleaguered by the united powers of darkness. If we have traitors among us, of course let them be duly dealt with, but in cases where treason is not suspected, let us interpret each other's words in *meliorem partem*, and aim at cultivating that charity which "thinketh no evil." As for me, these are the sentiments which I have ever felt

towards you, and it is a great satisfaction to me, and I feel grateful to you, to find that you reciprocate those sentiments towards me.

Of course it disappointed me that you did not see your way to assist us in the University in the way I pointed out. Theology and metaphysics will, I suppose, be given by the Bishops to Ecclesiastics. The Philosophy of History is already in the hands of a man of ability and name. It has struck me you would not be disinclined to take the chair of Philosophy of *Religion*, or the Evidences of Xtianity, or of the Notes of the Church, especially as viewed in reference to the needs of this age. This would open upon you the fields of *logic* and of *history*, in both of which you are so well practised. Would not the subject you mention of *Civilization* come into it, without going into the subjects of theology or metaphysics, which, as I have said, the Bishops will reserve for Ecclesiastics? Again, the mythical theory and its attendant errors are now making their way in these islands,—are we Catholics secure from the infection—any logical or historical attack upon them would be of the greatest service to us. As to politics of the *day*, I suppose it will be our prudence to abstain from so exciting a subject.

Excuse this short and unceremonious letter, and believe me, my dear Sir, with true esteem, very sincerely yours in Xt,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
Of the Oratory.

DR. BROWNSON, &c., &c.,
Boston, United States.

The subject of his lecture being made satisfactory, Brownson accepted Newman's invitation in July, though he was still uncertain when he would be able to go Dublin. On receiving Brownson's acceptance, Newman was puzzled what to say or do in the matter, for an opposition to Brownson's lecturing, which he had not expected, was manifested in Ireland. He wrote in reply:

ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM, August, 23, 1854.

DEAR SIR :—My delay in answering your letter of July 11 is not owing to me. I sent it to Ireland at once, and had it back only yesterday evening. By the same post, I received letters from different places which have perplexed me very much, as well as surprised me,—so that now that I write to you, I write, to my great disappointment and concern, with considerable difficulty. But I will neither delay my answer, nor be otherwise than open and straightforward in what I have to say.

I am urged then, now for the first time, in quarters to which I cannot but listen, to ask you whether it would be inconvenient to you to postpone your visit here, on the ground of some offence which happens to have been taken *just now*, in America, and, I believe in Ireland, at something you have lately written.

It will be a serious loss to us, if you cannot take part in our undertaking ; and I know I have no right to suppose you will consent to come at all, if I take a liberty so great as to ask you to postpone your coming. But still I must take things as I find them ; and, since it rests with me to do what is at once unpalatable to me

in itself and apparently uncourteous to you, I think it best to state the case as it really stands, trusting that I may not, besides my own disappointment and inconvenience, have the additional misfortune of disobliging you.

I might offer some mere excuse for proposing a postponement, but I think you will be better pleased that I should speak the plain and entire truth. I earnestly trust that this change of purpose on our part may not put you to inconvenience. I am very sorry to see, on looking again at your letter, that you have recalled your son from Munich apropos of your coming to Europe.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect, your faithful servant in Christ,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,

Of the Oratory.

Newman's letter was no disappointment to Brownson, who wrote him to that effect:

BOSTON, September 12, 1854.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR:—The postponement you request would not put me to the least inconvenience, and is in fact what I desired and should myself have requested. I could not possibly have made my arrangements to visit Europe during next year, and I want at least a year to prepare my son to take charge of my Review during my absence.

The request to postpone my visit will make no difference with me as to my readiness to visit you should the present storm blow over. But my own belief is that you will best consult the interests of the University by having it understood that I am not to be

connected with it in any way or manner. I need not say that what I call the *Irish* party both here and in Ireland, here especially, are by no means pleased to see an Englishman at its head, and they would in no manner consent to have me connected with it as a lecturer. They would raise the cry that the University is intended simply to Anglo-Saxonize the Irish. My name, I see, would only serve to increase the distrust of those already disposed to suspect the University, and would add to the embarrassments of your most difficult and delicate position. I want to save my own honor as much as possible, and also to consult the interests of the University. I think therefore that you had better, if the thing can honestly be done, as my acceptance was conditional, allow me to announce that I finally decline. I do not like to do so without your permission, but I think it will be best for all parties that I should. If you think proper, such an announcement may be made in Ireland. I assure you that the Irish party, for whom in a great measure the University is designed, have always disliked me, and will never accept me. The storm which recently broke out here, is only the expression of long pent up feelings. I am censured severely by a distinguished prelate, who appears before the public as your most ardent admirer, for having written against your *Essay on Development*, when he himself urged me through the Bishop of Boston to do so.* . . . I say then very frankly that I am certain that it will be for your comfort and for the interests of the University to have it understood that I am under no circumstances to be connected with it.

* MS. draft. It is very likely that in the letter as sent, this allusion to Archbishop Purcell was omitted.

Newman's reply was as follows :

MOUNT SALUS, DALKEY, Sept. 27, 1854.

(My direction is Dublin—this is a watering place.)

MY DEAR SIR :—Your welcome and generous letter came yesterday, and I lose no time in answering it.

I cannot prevail on myself to give the coup de grace to an arrangement, which I still hope will come into effect, by putting the notice in the newspapers which you propose. There are so many changes in men's minds, and public affairs are at present in that uncertain state, that it is not at all improbable that our present difficulty may blow over, and when it had done so, I should be vexed to have committed myself. I shall not fill up the Professorship which I offered to you, and we will see the turn things take. At the same time, I do not mean to say a word to inconvenience you, or to oblige you to consider it a suspended engagement, or to hinder your entertaining a renewal of my proposition as a really *de novo* matter.

What you say about "Loss and Gain" has given me heartfelt satisfaction, and I know such friends of mine as you are kind enough to contemplate will be as much pleased as I am at your message.

CHAPTER XV.

BROWNSON ASSERTS THE SUPREMACY OF THE SPIRITUAL ORDER, AND IS OPPOSED BY O'CONNOR AND PURCELL.—THOSE WHO STOOD BY HIM.

THE Bishop of Pittsburgh was right in saying, in the letter quoted in chapter xiii, that any assistance Brownson might give him in regard to "religious liberty" would be in what the Bishop considered "the wrong way." There was a radical difference, one of principle, between them on this point. Brownson, after years of thought on the subject, had become confirmed in his doctrine that there was only one medium of the reconciliation of civil and religious freedom with authority. "All liberty," he wrote in his Review for April, 1849,* "is in being held to no obedience but obedience to God; and obedience to the state can be compatible with liberty only on the condition that God commands it, or on the condition that he governs in the state, which he does not and cannot do, unless the state holds from his law and is subject to it. To deny, then, the supremacy of the church in temporals is only to release the temporal order from its subjection to the divine sovereignty, which, so far as regards the state, is to deny its authority, or its right to govern, and, so far as regards the subject, is to assert pure, unmitigated civil despotism. All authority divested of the divine sanction is despotic, because it is authority without right, will unregulated by reason, power disjoined from justice. Withdraw the supremacy of

* *Authority and Liberty*, Works, vol. x., pp. 128-129.

the church from the temporal order and you deprive the state of that sanction, by asserting that it does not hold from God and is not amenable to his law; you give the state simply a human basis, and have in it only a human authority, which has no right to govern, which we are not bound to obey, and which it is intolerable tyranny to compel us to obey."

Beginning with January, 1853, for five successive numbers, Brownson developing and explaining this doctrine, discusses thoroughly the relations of the temporal order to the spiritual.* In defending the rights and powers of the spiritual order in relation to the temporal, and of the church, as the representative of the spiritual, in face of the state, the representative of the temporal, he never confounded the two orders, merged one in the other, or denied the substantive existence of either—he simply asserted that the temporal exists not for its own sake, but for the spiritual, and that the spiritual order is by its own nature supreme over the temporal. If, then, the temporal is for the spiritual, if the spiritual is supreme over the temporal, if the church represents the authority of the spiritual, and if the pope be the supreme head of the church by divine right, then the pope must have supreme authority over the temporal order, and therefore the power to judge princes in temporals, not indeed precisely as temporals, but as spirituals. The power of the pope to depose princes was defended as of divine right; but at the same time was explained to be the right of the pope as supreme head of the church to judge whether the state does or

* Works, vol. xi., pp. 1-114.

does not conform to the conditions of its trust, and to pronounce sentence accordingly. The prince incurs deposition, not by the will or legislation of the pope, but by virtue of the natural law, or the law of God, under which he holds, and what is known as the deposing power of the pope is simply judicial and declarative. "What he does is to declare and apply the law of God to the particular case, and what he decides is the spiritual question involved, and therefore in doing it, he transcends not the limits of his spiritual functions. The power of the pope in regard to princes is limited by the law of God; but of that law he is the guardian and judge for states as well as individuals, and therefore has the right to judge of its infractions by princes as well as by subjects, and both are bound by his judgment, and *ought* to give practical effect to his sentence; but if they refuse, the pope uses only spiritual arms to compel them, for he has no other. He can pronounce the sentence of forfeiture, and declare subjects absolved, but practically there his power ordinarily ends."*

In the beginning of 1854, the Reverend Dr. Charles I. White retired from the editorial management of the *Metropolitan Magazine*, of Baltimore, and was succeeded by Huntington, whose animosity towards Brownson has already been alluded to. Huntington himself was not very strong in argument, and so he called for aid on his sponsor, the Bishop of Pittsburgh, / who at once, forgetful of his great friendship for Brownson, turned violently against him, because he regarded the assertion of ultramontane doctrine a slur

*Works, vol. x., p. 122.

on the bishops of his native country who took an oath which he seemed to think inconsistent with that doctrine. In the *Metropolitan* for February and March, 1854, he set forth what he pretended was Brownson's view, and argued against it, and went so far as to maintain propositions which the bishops of this country would probably have taken notice of if asserted by any one of less authority.

While lecturing in Buffalo in February, 1854, Brownson and O'Connor, who was also there, talked over the question, and the only agreement was to the effect that the bishop proposed to let the controversy end where it was, and this Brownson said he was perfectly willing to do. But on reaching Chelsea, he found a note from his bishop (Fitzpatrick) telling him it was necessary that he should reply to the *Metropolitan*. Fitzpatrick had sailed for Liverpool, on his visit to Rome, and could not be consulted, and so Brownson, in his April number, replied to O'Connor, defending and explaining his views.

As to the bishop's oath, Brownson said he could take it himself; but he wouldn't: it was with him rather a matter of taste or a sense of propriety than involving faith; for he recognized in the state the same liberty and independence of action that he did in the individual in matters of private and domestic economy. Within the limits of the moral law, as interpreted and applied by the church, the state, like the individual, is free to act as it pleases. He claimed no authority for the pope to interfere with the constitution of a state not repugnant to the divine law, or to disturb the rights or relations of property as settled by the same law.

✓ To the charge of the *Metropolitan Magazine* that Brownson made the temporal power of the popes a dogma of faith, the Reviewer replied, that although in his opinion it is not very remotely connected with faith he had only declared his belief that Catholic dogma requires us to maintain at least the *indirect* temporal authority of the popes, or to forswear our logic; by which he evidently meant, not that it is a Catholic dogma, but a strict logical deduction from it. "This may be the case," he said, "and yet one who denies it not be a heretic; for the church does not hold a man to be a heretic because he happens to be a bad logician."

Upon reading the article in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for July, replying to him, Brownson wrote to the writer, the Bishop of Pittsburgh, that he had read it with both surprise and pain.

"When we separated," he said, "last February at Buffalo, I fully intended not to reply to your previous article; but on reaching home I found directions left for me which I was not at liberty to disregard, and which made a reply on my part my duty. I replied as I thought, as I certainly intended, in a perfectly respectful manner, and in a way that I thought would not provoke a rejoinder. I hoped that the controversy would be suffered to drop. I did not believe you would take offence at what I had done, and I intended to avoid all future provocation. I have therefore to find you disposed to continue the controversy, after I had pretty clearly intimated that I would not press my doctrine.

"I have been pained also at the tone of your reply, which strikes me as harsh, and not such as I had a right to expect. Your article seems intended to make

an end of me, and rouse up the indignation of the whole Catholic public against me, rather than elucidate the question. It strikes me as unfair and unkind, and to assail me with passion rather than with argument.

"In a controversy of this sort, you cannot, Rt. Rev. Sir, be ignorant that you have every advantage, and I every disadvantage. You have the advantage of me in learning and ability, and above all by your sacred character, and high position as a bishop and prelate of the church. You can write against me with all the freedom of a layman and all the authority of the bishop, and I can only speak as a humble layman to a spiritual superior. The terms are not equal. You can bring popular and national prejudice to bear against me, and I can avail myself of no extraneous help.

"In your article you do not give me fair play before your readers. You charge me with doctrines and consequences which I disavow, which in my article I reason against, and use your great ability to hold me up now to the ridicule and now to the indignation of the public.

"Permit me to ask, what am I to do? My character, my reputation, my means of subsistence are threatened. Of this I would not complain if I had broached a novelty, far less a heresy. The doctrine I have defended, if not precisely of faith, is one which I am at liberty to hold, and can hold without reproach. What then am I to do? I can hardly believe that you could have expected when writing your article against me that I would suffer it to go unanswered.

"Private interests certainly are not to be considered when duty to the church requires us to speak. But

may I ask if you really wish me to discontinue my Review? If it really be your design to force me to discontinue it? You know perfectly well that I cannot sustain it against your opposition even if I should be willing to do so.

"I do not believe, after the many proofs I have had of your paternal regard for me, that such is your wish. Why then write in the manner you do against me? You are opposed to the discussion of the question. There is a simple and easy way to get what you wish without ruining me and mine. Convince me, you will not. If Rome decides against me, of course, I shall know that I am wrong, and shall take pride in retracting. For though err I may, a heretic I will not be. You have only to write to my bishop, and tell him what doctrines you do not wish to have broached or discussed in my Review, and I assure you that I will be governed entirely by his orders, or his known wishes. I naturally look to him, and I have never knowingly gone counter to any suggestions of his. The articles to which you take exception were read to and approved by him before they were printed, and I have his positive assurance that he wished them published. If I had not known that such was his wish, I should not even have written them. When bishops disagree, what is a poor layman to do? Do nothing, do you say? Why not follow the advice of his own bishop rather, especially when that bishop is both his bishop and his director? Why am I to be governed by the Bishop of Pittsburgh rather than by the Bishop of Boston? Shall I follow simply my own judgment? I had enough of that as a Protestant, and moreover, I have a very mean opinion

of my own judgment. What better can I do then than submit myself to the direction of my own bishop? And when I do ought I to be assailed or denounced by another bishop?"*

In the columns of the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, his diocesan organ, O'Connor answered this letter by expressing his dissatisfaction with Brownson's doctrine on this and some other matters, and called forth the following letter from Brownson :

BOSTON, August 1, 1854.

To the Editor of the Pittsburgh Catholic:

DEAR SIR :—I have just read your article devoted to me, in your paper of last week. For the kind and considerate tone in which you speak of me personally —the tone of a Christian gentleman, and which I have seldom been greeted with in any one who differed from me—you must permit me to thank you with tears of gratitude in my eyes. I do not know why it is that my brethren, who differ from me, usually express their difference in a harsh, sneering, contemptuous tone, or why they almost always make it a personal affair, and refuse me the ordinary courtesy due from one gentleman to another. In the present storm of indignation which I have unwittingly excited, I am happy to acknowledge *The Metropolitan Magazine*, *The Catholic Herald*, and *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, honorable exceptions to the general rule of a portion of the Catholic press of the country, in my regard, when they do not agree with me.

I beg you to permit me an observation or two on some of your remarks. I think I can bear admonition

* Ms. Draft.

and rebuke without anger towards him who administers it, and if I know myself, which is very doubtful, I am better pleased with it than with praise, of which I have had more than I desire. I believe I was myself in my own Review the first to rebuke the praises bestowed on me by the Catholic press on the occasion of my conversion. I came into the church because constrained by the grace of God, because I felt on my conscience a load of guilt which was more than I could bear, because I had need of her, and saw that I had and could have no hope outside of her communion. I did not think she had need of me, and I have never rated my literary or intellectual abilities so high as to regard them of any importance to her in this country. I did not dream of holding in the Catholic world the place so much above my merits which has been assigned me. Requested to continue my Review by several of the American bishops, I consented to do so, and have continued it up to this time, not so well as I could wish, but as well as I could, being what I am.

I have worked hard, I have studied diligently, and I have always acted under advice, and never published an article written by myself, without first submitting it to my bishop, or to a theologian appointed by him to examine my articles, except now and then a literary criticism or my literary notices. In almost all instances I have consulted him, or in his absence the theologian appointed, as to the propriety of discussing the topic, before proceeding to write. This was especially the case with regard to the topics of exclusive salvation, religious liberty, developmentism, and the power of the popes in regard to temporals.

The article on the temporal power of the popes in my April Review, and those on Native-Americanism, and Education in my July number, were submitted to the revision of the theologian appointed by the Bishop of Boston as my censor during his absence. I have never refused to make any alteration required, or to suppress any article which the authority I consulted suggested it would be better not to publish.

I say not this, Sir, to throw any responsibility from my shoulders on those of another, but to show you that I do not arrogate to myself quite so much as I am accused of doing. The Bishop of Boston, in whose diocese I live, is the Catholic Church to me, at least in the first instance, and I am not aware that there is any higher voice through which the church speaks to me, except that of the Holy Father; and the / Bishop of Boston, except where his own authority is in question, is to me the legitimate interpreter of the voice of the Holy Father himself. Now I am not so ignorant as to pretend that this gives the stamp of authority to what I publish, or that it should screen me in the least from having my opinions called in question; but it should, I think, screen me from having my Catholic loyalty impugned, and save me from the charge of setting myself up as a preceptor of Catholics here or elsewhere. If I have ever assumed the airs of a preceptor or placed myself in opposition to the pastors of the church, I unquestionably deserve rebuke; but if I have done so, it is unwittingly. If the pastors, however, themselves disagree, I suppose that all that can be asked of me is that I follow my own. With regard to the unpleasant controversies in which I am

involved, I wish to make a remark or two. If those who oppose me will permit me to do so, I shall drop the controversy on the power of the pope in regard to temporals after offering, indirectly, a reply to the article in the *Metropolitan* for last July. This I cannot in justice to myself or my readers avoid doing, because that periodical charges upon me doctrines which I am not conscious of maintaining, and makes me responsible for inferences which I deny, and I do not think the writer of the article against me would wish me to remain under the stigma of maintaining views which I do not. He has either misunderstood me, or I have not understood myself, for I certainly do not understand the doctrine I defend as he does, and should not defend it if I did.

The article on Native-Americanism* I do not understand at all as they who denounce it seem to understand it. I cannot account for the sense they attach to it, and I certainly know that that sense is not mine, and I do not believe it warranted by my language. In the sense they condemn it, it is morally impossible that I could have written it. I have not seen an objection against anything I myself have said fairly interpreted, according to what seems to me to be the natural sense of my words, and my known antecedents, and the proper presumptions in the case. For instance, I say "naturalization is a boon." This is objected to, but not in the sense I say it. I say "it is a boon, not a natural right." Evidently all I mean by its being a boon is that it is not a thing which the immigrant has a right to demand, but some-

* Works, vol. xviii. p. 281.

thing which a nation may concede or withhold according to its own judgment of what is expedient or inexpedient. Whether the word *boon* was happily chosen or not, belongs to mere verbal criticism, for it is clear from the explanation I give that this is my meaning. Naturalization, in the sense in which I used it, includes suffrage and eligibility, which the reader of my Review must be aware, I do not hold to be natural rights of even natural-born citizens. They are trusts which may be conceded or withheld according to the will of the nation or civil society. To the sense in which I say naturalization is a boon I have heard no objection. If I had used the word to imply that it is a favor conferred on the immigrant without any resulting advantage to the nation, I might have been blamed; but I do not so use it, as is evident from the fact that in that very article I concede its advantage, so far as the Catholic portion of the immigrants are concerned, whom, whether Irish or German, I place at the head of American citizens, as the most truly conservative body in the country. Similar remarks I might make in regard to all the other points for which I have been blamed. I find no fault with people for opposing my views whenever they think them erroneous or unjust; what I complain of is, having opposed as mine, views which I do not hold, which by no rules of interpretation I am acquainted with can be fairly deduced from anything I say.

As to the article on education,* all I have to say is that it was written to let Protestants understand that Catholics, though opposed to the common-school system,

* Works, vol. x, p. 564.

are not opposed to education, and that non-Catholics overrate the power of even their common-school system to pervert our children, that we can, along with many evils, derive from their common schools, *as they are managed in this locality*, more advantage, and that they are decidedly better for us than no schools at all. That they are better than Catholic schools, or as good as good Catholic schools, it never entered into my head to assert, for I should not think it could ever enter into any Catholic's head. I began by asserting that upon the principles involved all Catholics are agreed. I wrote the article with reference, not to Catholics, who had better advisers than I, but to non-Catholics. I was not aware that as far as I discussed the question it was no longer "an open question," and I thought I kept clear of all interference with the movement going on in the country for Catholic education. I certainly intended to do so. Here in Boston I know our children go to the public schools with the permission of the bishop, and with no harm to their faith or piety, as I am assured by those who are best able to judge. If I went counter to the decision of the Holy Father, or to any decree of our own national council, I did so in my ignorance, and am ready to retract it in specific terms, and as publicly as possible when duly informed of the respect in which I have done it. Whatever else Catholics may have to complain of in me, they shall never have that of a schismatical or heretical disposition, or of a disposition to persist in error. I cannot promise that I shall never err, for I am human, but I can promise that I will retract, reprobate, and condemn as heartily as any one can wish any error into which I may have fallen, the

moment that authority bids me. Let any one formula my errors and transmit them with the decisions they countervene to my bishop, and let him present the list to me, and nothing more will be needed, whatever the subject to which they relate.

I pray you, Sir, to excuse these extended remarks, written in self-vindication, and which under the circumstances, I hope will not be found to merit censure for their egotism. I may be proud, and probably am, but I do not think my pride is precisely of the sort you suppose. However, no man knoweth himself, or whether he deserves love or hatred. For the fair and honest words you have said, though differing from me, especially at a moment when gross injustice has been done me in various quarters, I thank you, and beg leave to subscribe myself, your most obedient servant.

O. A. BROWNSON.

O'Connor, in replying in the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, misstates and distorts what Brownson had written, with the same want of fairness which he had manifested in the *Metropolitan*. He said :

"We do not see the necessity of throwing the whole odium which attaches to this or any other article, on his bishop, who, we think, never meant to assume any greater responsibility than what might arise from the assurance that the Review contained nothing contrary to faith or morals. Nothing more than this is implied in the approbation which a bishop may give to any periodical, and whether the Bishop of Boston may continue in future to pronounce on the merits of articles before publication or not, it is better for Mr. Brownson not to shrink from bearing the whole responsibility alone."

Some women are able to reason like men; but to make things even, many men argue like women. The bishop censures Brownson for what he claims to be errors in faith and morals. Brownson in defending himself says he has done all in his power to avoid such errors; but, conscious of his own incapacity, he has caused what he wrote to be revised by his bishop or a competent theologian, not in order to shift the responsibility from himself, but to prove that he is not guilty of the arrogance that has been charged upon him. The bishop, with this statement before his eyes, says it is unfair to throw the odium of responsibility on another, which any one reading his letter must know he did not do, or try to do. O'Connor says that the Bishop of Boston's approbation only gives the assurance that the Review contained nothing against faith or morals. What more was wanted? When he adds, "it is better for Mr. Brownson not to shrink from bearing the whole responsibility alone," if he means anything, in the circumstances, he means that it would be better not to submit articles to revision. What Brownson said in reference to his article on Education, in the letter, is fully borne out by the article itself; yet the bishop insinuates a repetition of his charge that the Reviewer maintained that the common school-system was better than a system of Catholic schools. One who only about a year before had borrowed matter for a lecture from Brownson's published lectures, and sent a printed copy with a request to be informed what he thought of it, might very likely be so deficient in fairness and candor.

Not much better did Brownson fare with those

outside of the church, when he announced that he submitted his writings to ecclesiastic censorship. A few extracts from a specimen article on the subject may not be misplaced here.

"Professor Brownson has been regarded not only as a man of capacious intellect, but as of a bold and fearless spirit, of American instincts, and beyond all individual control. It has been a mystery with those who knew him, who admired his genius, how a mind vigorous by nature, and so highly cultivated, of such a broad scope, and of such a philosophic character, could embrace these vagrant and degenerating theories, and advocate them with such earnestness. But the mystery is solved by this unblushing declaration of a blind subserviency to the Roman Bishop who claims to be his master. When he left the faith of his fathers, and took upon himself the yoke of Rome, he surrendered the free spirit with which he was imbued, and voluntarily placed the stamp of bondage upon the divinity that stirred within him. He gave up to Rome what was meant for mankind, and instead of thinking, or writing, or acting as a free man, as one who was endowed with transcendent intellectual power for noble purposes, he became the slave of a Jesuit, the servile instrument of a propagandism at war with the religious freedom of his countrymen, at war with republican institutions, and opposed to progress in all that relates to popular advancement, or the elevation of the millions.

"This declaration of Mr. Brownson is the more deplorable because in intellectual power and attainments he is infinitely superior to his bishop or his 'CENSOR',

of a grasp of mind altogether beyond either. His voluntary submission to their dictation would be reconcilable with the peculiarites of human character were their positions reversed. Were theirs the vigorous intellect, the diligent inquiry, the sleepless industry, and the indomitable will, and his, the medium capacity, the inert intellectual action, the fondness for indulgence, and the love of ease, in that case we could charge to natural weakness what is now attributable to voluntary degradation, to a just consciousness of inferiority what can only be induced by a servile submission of a slavish though powerful spirit. He is an American man, the son of American parents. His fathers were among those who perilled all for freedom, for security against spiritual as well as civil bondage, for independence, not that of civil institutions and civil government alone, but intellectual and spiritual independence of all men who should sit under the shadow of the government that they perilled so much to establish."

Bellarmino's work on the papal power was placed / on the *Index* by command of Sixtus V because it did not go far enough in its advocacy of that power: Brownson was declared deserving of excommunication by the Archbishop of Cincinnati for asserting the same / doctrine, on the ground that he went too far. Yet the same Archbishop, before the articles were written, in conversation on the subject with Brownson, assured him, " You cannot go too far for me." The first journal in the United States to censure Newman's theory of development was the Cincinnati Telegraph, and the article was by Bishop Purcell. Yet he censured Brown- / son for writing against that theory. He com-

plained of an article on Bishop England's Works which was written by Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, and charged Brownson with trying in his letter to the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, to shift responsibility for his articles on his bishop. Purcell called the doctrines of the articles he censured "Vagaries" of Brownson, and predicted that before long he would fall like Origen, Tertullian, La Mennais, Rosmini, Gioberti, and Veutura, if he were thwarted in his peculiar theories; and plainly intimated that only the habitual forbearance of the church to proceed to extreme measures against offenders as long as there is room for the least hope of amendment, prevented his being severed from the communion of the faithful.

Brownson knew that he was not obliged to recognize the voice of authority in a newspaper editor or an anonymous journalist; but if the honest endeavor to be strictly orthodox, if drawing his doctrine from the standard Catholic authors, if the unreserved submission of what he wrote to the proper authority for revision, could not secure a Catholic publicist from such charges and insinuations, which affected his honor as a man and his loyalty as a Catholic, he felt that his usefulness was at an end. He had embraced the church because he believed she had a papal constitution, had a visible head on earth, the representative of him who is "King of kings and Lord of lords," and he could hardly suspect that any one would regard him as warring against her interests by opposing those misguided or timid Catholics who were in the habit of disclaiming in her name one of her strongest titles to our love and reverence, and asserting principles

which emancipate the state from the law of God, and justified the most unmitigated civil despotism. The view he defended was that of Bellarmine and Suarez. How then could Purcell term it one of his "vagaries"? Certainly he had no right to anathematize anonymously in a newspaper what the church then tolerated, and has since asserted in a general council. The mildness and humility with which he remonstrated with the Archbishop in his letter to the "*Telegraph,*" show that his faith was invincible.

BOSTON, August 22, 1854.

To the Editor of the Catholic Telegraph.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—In your paper of the 19th inst., you make some statements, or express certain fears, with regard to me, on which, as they affect not only myself but also my relations to the Bishop of Boston, I trust you will permit me to offer through your columns a few brief remarks.

You seem to gather from a recent letter of mine to the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, that I seek to shelter myself from criticism by throwing the responsibility of the errors my writings may contain upon the Bishop of Boston, or the theologian he may select to examine my manuscript before publication. In this you do me great injustice. I alone am responsible for whatever errors of thought or expression may be found in my writings. I hope I have too much delicacy, as well as too much principle, to insinuate in any shape that my highly venerated bishop, or any theologian of his selecting, is answerable for them. What there is in my Review that is good is due, directly or indirectly, to the Bishop of Boston and his theologians; what there is erroneous or objectionable is due to myself.

If you had done me the honor to read my letter to the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, I think you would have perceived that I allude to the fact that I always, with insignificant exceptions, submit my articles to the revision of the bishop, or of a theologian designated by him, before publishing,—not to throw the responsibility on the shoulders of another, nor to prove that they contain no errors, but to show that I am not justly charged with bringing out “vagaries” of my own, or with a want of docility or submissiveness to authority,—in a word, to prove my Catholic intentions, which you and others have impugned. This is all the fact proves. It leaves you free to criticise my writings as you please, but it does not leave you free to impugn my Catholic loyalty, or to charge me with an heretical or even an arrogant disposition.

You intimate that I express a determination, in the conduct of my Review, to abide by the decision of my own bishop, regardless of the other bishops in the country. In this again you misapprehend me. The Bishop of Boston, under the Holy Father, is the Catholic Church to me, for he is my pastor. If I have fallen into any errors which require public retraction, I expect the requirement to be made to me by him, or through him, as the legitimate authority in the case, so long as I live in his diocese. But to attribute to me a determination to disregard the wishes of the other bishops in conducting a Review which circulates in their diocese, is to make me somewhat a greater fool and less of a Catholic than anybody who knows me is likely to believe.

Your fears that I shall array one portion of the

hierarchy against another, I think are entirely groundless. The Bishop of Boston would by no means suffer me to do so, were I able and disposed to do it; and I assure you that I would not do so if he would permit me. I may be involved in a controversy without intending it, but I shall never persist in a controversy offensive to the pastors of the church.

I have been unexpectedly engaged in a controversy with the *Metropolitan* on the papal power, but that controversy will not be continued on my part. In my October number will appear a conversation between "Uncle Jack and His Nephew," * in which the subject comes in incidentally, and what I wish to be understood as holding on the subject is stated as clearly as I am able to state it, but I think not in a form or temper to provoke a rejoinder. But with that Conversation I shall drop the discussion, whatever may be said against me, or however the doctrine may be distorted, and I held up to the derision or horror of the Catholic public. I am willing at all times to sacrifice my right of self-defence for the sake of religion.

The subject of Native-Americanism was discussed in an article in my last number. The article has been singularly misunderstood and furiously assailed. My next Review will contain an article explaining what I did mean, and showing that there was nothing in it to offend any Catholic, in whatever country he was born or educated,—at least as I understood my own meaning. I have not heard or seen an objection to anything that I put into my article. The interpretation given to it by my Irish Catholic friends is

* Conversations ix and x, Works, vol. xi.

a perfect surprise to me. But the explanatory article I have alluded to will end all I have to say on the subject. I have said also all I have to say on education. If any bishop objects to what I have said, I will insert most willingly his objections, if he will write them out, or cause them to be written out, and without note or comment of mine. This should suffice to allay your fears.

You are now writing against me for things which I said in my articles on the Development question. I have long since dropped that controversy. I did so of my own accord. I have not changed my views of the theory itself, but I am fully satisfied that enough has been said. There is, I believe, a mutual good understanding and a mutual good feeling between Father Newman and myself, and it seems to me that there is, after he and I have come to a good understanding, no especial call to castigate me for things which I said in that controversy. I am happy to say that my fears of the noble Oxford converts were to a great extent unwarranted, and I can assure them that they have nowhere a sincerer, warmer, or more devoted friend than the Editor of Brownson's Quarterly Review. If there ever was the danger I apprehended, it has now passed away, and nobody need fear ever hearing me again speaking a word in depreciation of a convert, whether at home or abroad. If there is anything of that sort to be said, I will leave those who call themselves *native-born* Catholics to say it. I hope I have learned wisdom on this score.*

* Naturally the opposition he was encountering from those "native-born" Catholics drove him to seek greater harmony with converts.

In some of your previous numbers you accuse me of misrepresenting Kenelm H. Digby. I had been informed by a priest who professed to know, that he was an Englishman and a convert. I shall take the earliest opportunity to correct my mistake. I do not think that the passage you cite from the *Mores Catholici* invalidates my general judgment of that work; but if I have done the author injustice, I shall not hesitate to do him justice. I shall take the earliest opportunity to re-examine the point. When I wrote my article I had read only the two volumes of the Cincinnati edition, and I was unable to procure the whole work. I have all the volumes now.* My purpose in the article was not so much to review Digby as it was to deprive the Unitarian writer I was refuting, of the use he made of his works against the church of the Middle Ages.

By the way, in criticising in a late number of your paper that same article, you fall into the same mistake in regard to me that you accuse me of in regard to the excellent and most learned author of the *Mores Catholici*. You cite from the article a passage which you characterize as untenable on Catholic principles. You probably were not aware that in a subsequent number of the Review the doctrine you object to is retracted, and the passage acknowledged to be susceptible of an erroneous sense. I am always ready to correct my errors when I discover them, or they are pointed out to me, as this was by the illustrious Count Montalembert, who expressed himself perfectly satisfied with what he was pleased to call my "noble retraction."†

* In the English edition, which was complete. That of Cincinnati contained only two-thirds of the work.

† The passage can be seen at the bottom of p. 257, vol. x, of Brownson's Works. It is qualified on p. 258. See this work also, p. 320

You have also censured me for blaming the gallianism of the late Bishop England. I am responsible as editor, but not as writer. The review of Bishop England's Works was written by one of the most illustrious members of the American hierarchy, who knew and loved and esteemed the learned and eloquent prelate.

I pray you to excuse the length of these remarks, and believe me perfectly willing to be held responsible for all the errors that may be found in my writings. I do not think you have treated me generously or justly. Time, I trust, will prove to you that you have altogether mistaken my character, and that your distrust of me is at least as unfounded as mine was of the Developmentists. I have no wish to continue my Review a moment after it ceases to be useful to the cause of religion. I can beg, I can starve, but I cannot consent to be a cause of division among brethren. Whenever my own observation convinces me, or the pastors of the church hint to me, that the continuance of my Review will be a disservice to the cause of Catholicity in this country, it will cease to appear, and in such case I am sure the Bishop of Boston would require me to stop it.

I shall not claim the insertion of these remarks in your journal as an act of justice to me; yet I shall feel much obliged to you if you will insert them. I do not suppose you are governed by any other motives than zeal for religion. You believe me untrustworthy and dangerous to the church, and therefore believe it your duty to denounce me. I have nothing to say to this, except that I pray God that you may find you have

judged me harshly, and treated me with unmerited severity, and also that I may have the grace to bear the castigations I receive as a Catholic should bear them. I have the honor to be, Messrs. Editors, your most obedient servant.

O. A. BROWNSON.

Although this letter is addressed to the editors, its tone shows that the writer felt he was writing to the Archbishop, who was the real author of the "philippics" against him in the Telegraph. The actual editors at that time, if I mistake not, were the Archbishop's brother Edward, and Rev. Sylvester H. Rosecrans, D. D. They were the editors soon afterwards, and I think they were at this time. Now Edward Purcell and Brownson couldnot agree and the latter had lost all respect for the former, beyond that which was due to any one who had received priestly ordination. Rosecrans was as amiable and as good-hearted a man as I ever knew; but on his return from Rome a few years before, Roddan had brought him to visit Brownson at Mt. Bellingham, when they got into a discussion on philosophy. As they passed in to dinner Brownson was heard to remark to the young doctor of divinity: "You háve the muddiest head on metaphysics I ever met with." Having occasion to write Brownson, he alludes to this, apparently without animosity, though it very likely affected his work as an editor.

CATHEDRAL, CINCINNATI, Oct. 25, '53.

O. A. BROWNSON, LL. D.

DEAR SIR:—On the strength of an acquaintance begun, continued, and ended in a metaphysical discussion I take the liberty of writing to you now a note in

behalf of the Cincinnati Young Men's Catholic Literary Institute of which I am the "Clerical Director." They wrote to you some two months ago, inviting you to deliver a lecture for them at your leisure. As they have received no answer, I fear either that their letter never was received, or that it was not properly written. Will you please to inform me whether I am right? I understand that you are going to St. Louis this winter. Could you not give us a lecture on your way?

Your Obed't Servant in Christ,

S. H. ROSECRANS.

The tone of this note does not necessarily imply that the writer cherished any resentment; yet it is not inconsistent with such supposition, and Rosecrans's course towards Brownson in after years, rather confirms it. As to the Archbishop's opposition, no one can believe that it was caused by the advocating of doctrines he had himself desired put forth, as on development and the papal power, but must be attributed to the same cause as that of the Irish Catholics generally at that period.

In publishing Brownson's letter, the Catholic Telegraph half reiterates, half retracts its former complaints, and concludes: "We, however, unequivocally acknowledge our own sins and imperfections, and we willingly recall all expressions that in our conscientious strictures savored rather of harshness than of courtesy and charity. To others we extend the indulgence we feel we must crave for ourselves, and we particularly desire the continuance and wider circulation and success of the ablest Quarterly in this hemisphere, at least; convinced that in future its services to religion will

infinitely outweigh the imperfections and defects which, in spite of the best intentions, are found to mingle with everything human."

The hostility to Brownson for asserting the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal was far from being universal. *The Shepherd of the Valley* in St. Louis, edited by Bakewell; the Abbe Perché, who was later Archbishop, editor of the *Propagateur Catholique*; and the *Catholic Miscellany* of Charleston, edited by Dr. Lynch and Dr. Corcoran, were the most prominent of the supporters of that doctrine in the periodical press; but there were many, perhaps a great majority, of the bishops and other clergy who adhered to the same view. Bishop Baillargeon wrote:

QUEBEC, 17 Janvier, 1854.

DEAR SIR:—" You don't go too far"—I tell you vos écrits sont utiles à tous: aux bons Catholiques, qu'ils éclairent, et qu'ils affermissent; aux tièdes et aux lâches, qu'ils stimulent, et qu'ils font rougir; aux protestants mêmes, qu'ils confondent, et qu'ils épouvantent.

Then I tell you again, " You don't go too far." *Tales amboi defensores veritatis.* Je ne cesserai donc point de prier Dieu, qu'il vous conserve, et qu'il continue de vous assister dans votre travail. Et il continuera, parceque vous plaidez sa cause avec courage et noblement. Et la Vierge, la douce Vierge Marie, notre Mère, que vous invoquez avec tant d'amour et de confiance, vous viendra en aide dans vos combats pour le Seigneur, en la vie et à la mort. *Fiat, fiat,* ce sont les vœux que je forme pour vous au commencement de l'année, les souhaits que je vous adresse,

dans la haute estime avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,
Monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

† C. F. BAILLARGEON, Evêque de Tloa, C. Q.

À MR. O. A. BROWNSON, Esquire,
à Boston.

Several of the American bishops, without entering into a discussion of the questions in controversy, took occasion to express to the Reviewer their sympathy and good will at about this time. Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, wrote: "Permit me to unite myself to many others in offering to you, in the name of the church, the tribute of my gratitude for what God does, through your excellent paper, for the triumph of his holy Spouse," and concludes: "I would say more were I not afraid of making you lose one single instant of that valuable time which you devote so usefully to the glory of God, the welfare of his church, and the salvation of many a soul." Bishops Van de Velde, of Chicago, and Rappe, of Cleveland, invited him to lecture in their cities, promising to do their best to have large audiences; the latter added, "I will be very much pleased if you remain in our house during your stay in Cleveland."

The approbation of his general course by Mgr. Malou, conveyed in the following letter from the great Missionary among the Indians, was prized by Brownson:

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 27, 1854.

DEAR SIR:—In my visit to Belgium, in the course of last year, I had the honor several times of conversing with one of the most eminent and distinguished prelates of that country, Monseigneur Malou, Bishop of Bruges, who felt great interest in all the ecclesiastical affairs of

the United States, who reads with the greatest pleasure every number of your interesting and masterly Quarterly Review, which he is able to obtain. He looks upon you as the great champion of our holy religion in America. He desired me most particularly to present to you, in his name, his best respects and kind wishes, and charged me with several of his works, to be presented to you. These works were contained in a box, which remained in the wreck of the Humboldt, but were afterwards saved, and lately received by me. This accounts for the delay of sending them at this distant period. I charged your friend, Mr. Lindsay, with the little package, who leaves St. Louis on a visit to Ireland—he will either hand it to you personally or will send it on by express from New York..

You will confer a favor on me, and a most pleasing one on Monseigneur Malou, by acknowledging the receipt of the works he sends you.

I remain with profound respect and esteem, dear Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S. J.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq., Boston.

On the next page, and facing an engraving of the new University of St. Louis, is the following from the Father Provincial.

DEAR FRIEND:—Fr. De Smet insists on my adding a line. This, you will say, is not very friendly—to write only because it is insisted upon. All I can say is that he often insists in vain; so that my compliance in the present instance implies at least preference. Gladly do I avail myself of the occasion to express my satisfaction at your having been invited by Dr. Newman,

and at your not having accepted—at least, so say the papers. The motives of my satisfaction I prefer reserving for our first tête-à-tête, which I hope will not be long delayed.*

You see that the building fever has infected us, as well as our neighbors. Really, the plan and purposes of the new edifice justify the outlay of \$35,000, but the "knowing ones" say that by selling land (or lots near the city) to cover that expense, we prove but indifferent business men. Be it so. The Irish say that "Dominus Vobiscum" never starved. At any rate, we shall have a hall for Dr. Brownson when he comes again to strengthen and unfold the Catholic element of St. Louis.

May the Holy Ghost be with you and yours in Him.

W. S. MURPHY.

The Rev. Thomas S. Preston, a convert, wrote :

NEW YORK, April 6th, 1854.

MY DEAR DR. BROWNSON:—I have derived so much profit from the reading of your Review, and especially from the articles on the supremacy of the spiritual order, that I can hardly help taking the liberty of saying so at a time when these very articles are assailed. I desire therefore in this private and confidential manner to acknowledge to you my debt of obligation. It seems to me that this very subject, far from being out of place, lies at the very foundation of the evils that afflict society. Neither can I have any clear view of the sphere of temporal power, unless it be subordinate to the spiritual. You will pardon me for

* The motives were probably those expressed in Brownson's letter to Newman, p. 483.

saying this, as I have been often tempted to say it before, but have been restrained by the fear of intrusion. It is, however, no more than justice that one who is attacked should hear from his friends. I have every reason to know that your Review is doing an important work, and I pray God long to preserve your life and give you the gifts necessary for your most valuable labors.

I am, with sincere respect, your humble and ob't servant,

THOMAS S. PRESTON.

Bakewell's account of opinions in St. Louis was this:

ST. LOUIS, February 18, 1854.

DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I do not write only to inform you of the birth of my daughter, although I begin my letter by that. Her name is Marie Josephine Octavie; the rest of the Litany of the Saints my pious wife holds in reserve for the day of her confirmation. She was born three weeks ago to-day, and baptized the day after her birth. She is a fine, healthy child, and her mother, who has been doing well in every respect ever since, left her bed to-day for the first time since she was brought to it by the unmistakable declaration of independence of the little Republican.

Your article on "Schools of Philosophy" * is attracting very great attention here. The Archbishop speaks of it in the highest terms of admiration; he says it requires to be studied, and he has not done with it yet. Father De Smet has forwarded it to one of the famous philosophers of the Society, and Bishop Miège

* Works, vol. 1, p. 276.

hopes that the *Civiltà Cattolica* men will do their best against you. You have no warmer friend and admirer than Bishop Miège, and he told me to-day that your articles on the Spiritual and Temporal Power ought to be translated into French and presented to the Pope. He says that those who are raising an outcry about it here, would soon hear what Rome has to say on the matter, and that he is certain that your course would meet with the warmest approbation of his Holiness. There is a storm brewing against you, I am sure, and I believe now that the *Metropolitan* will be the organ from which it will burst. The Archbishop thinks that Bishop O'Connor wrote the article against you in the last number, and is the author of the one with which you are threatened. The Archbishop will stick by you, I am sure; but except him and Bishop Miège, all the clergy, Jesuits, and others with whom I have spoken, are unanimous in saying, " You go too far." I never heard any one take your part so gallantly as did Bishop Miège to-day, and he is quite indignant at your opponents and especially at the premonitory squib of Bishop O'Connor in the *Metropolitan*.

Bishop Miège told me that he heard from Mr. Purcell in passing through Cincinnati recently, that Major of the *Herald* is about to return to his vomit and wallow again in the mire of Puseyism. I can hardly believe it, but, except so far as Major himself is concerned, it would do no harm, and would be a blow to the Kawtholics * who patronize his paper and hold him up as a model of courteous Catholicity.

* A way of spelling Catholics, invented, I think, by Roddan in the Boston *Pilot*, to designate political Catholics in the Custom-House, who pronounced the word in the English, not in the Irish and American way.

I dare say I have told you nothing new in what I have said, but I am sure we are going to have a fight here against Gallicanism before it is done.

I had a visit to-day from a poor devil of an Episcopalian parson of Chicago, named McKeon; he wants to become a Catholic, but he has a wife and five children and no money but that derived from his ministry. He will take courage yet, I think, but I do not know what he can do to support his family. He wishes to keep dark about his intentions, and if I understand him rightly, has made them fully known to no one but myself. He called on the Archbishop and I hope will make his confession before he leaves St. Louis. Is there anything he could do in Boston? He is apparently a fair specimen of his class, and quite young. Between his conscience and his comforts he seems to have a hard struggle.

The Rev. Mr. Gassaway, of this place, on his way to Quincy to lecture against "Spiritual Despotism," that is, against God and yourself, was blown up on the Kate Kearney. He has probably taken a bitter lesson on spiritual despotism by this time.

The papers have not abused you since you left, Dr. Rice having declined a challenge from the Spiritual Rappers, has been laughed at by the whole town. Dr. Linton,* has written an answer to Rice, of which you have probably received a copy, and is gone to New Orleans. The people here have got a little scared at the excitement stirred up by your attacks on Protestantism, and the women at least wish you at the deuce. The excitement has been very great

* William Linton, Editor of the Chicago Tablet.

certainly, and very wholesome. But our people are not near so spunkey as I hoped, and I was wrong in the opinion of their character I gave you. My wife desires to be very kindly remembered to you, and I am, dear Mr. Brownson, your most faithful and devoted

R. A. BAKEWELL.

Another young friend, whom Brownson highly esteemed, and who has since become well known in the world of letters, in a letter which is here given entire, expressed the sympathy of a descendant of an old Catholic as well as American family.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 17, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty of sending you a speech delivered in the N. Y. Legislature on the subject of Ecclesiastical Tenure, in which you will find quotations from your Review on pp. 25 and 26. The first paragraph quoted on p. 25 is certainly misquoted, and it appears to me that the speaker misapplied your remarks entirely. You will see at once that this is a subject of vast importance to the Catholic Church in this country. I fear there is little doubt of the intention of the Massachusetts Legislature to enact a similar law, and many other states will follow the example. A few schismatic Catholics have awakened this feeling against one of the most vital points of discipline in the church, and I think it important that the true views of Catholics should be made known. Of this, however, as well as the manner of doing it, you can best judge.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without returning my thanks to you for the pleasure and instruction I derived from your articles on Native-Americanism and

Know-Nothingism. They gratified me exceedingly. The outcry against them has been discreditable to the parties and very injudicious. I would have written to you at the time had I not felt that my feeble voice could add nothing to the testimonies of encouragement you were then receiving from the Catholic American public.

But it seems to me, Doctor, that there is a weak point on the Catholic side of the recent discussions on the Temporal Power of the Pope. I read in the "American Organ" (the K. N. paper at Washington) a complete refutation of Mr. Chandler's speech in Congress by a writer who simply quoted from your Review. Also a Methodist preacher answered Father Maguire's Lecture by quotations from papal Bulls and Ultramontane Catholic writers. You will see at once that the weak point lies in the unfortunate fact that there are two opposing views on Temporal Power prevailing among Catholics themselves. Our enemies cannot be silenced as long as they can answer Catholics out of the mouths of Catholics. Mr. Chandler and Fr. Maguire* can never refute Know-Nothingism as long as they deny the indirect Temporal Power of the Pope. I think there is no practical advantage in discussing the question of Temporal Power, but our enemies have forced us into the controversy, and we ought to maintain the Catholic side, and not the Protestant side. Now the theory of the indirect Temporal Power properly explained and illustrated, can by no means offend against American nationality or any other nationality. This is the only

* The Reverend Bernard A. Maguire, S. J., President of Georgetown College, and later at the head of the Jesuit Missions in the eastern States. He died in 1887.

answer that Catholics can consistently make against our accusers, and the only one we can successfully maintain. So far from being inconsistent with the allegiance due from the citizen to the Constitution, the belief in the indirect Temporal Power properly understood but adds to the vigor of temporal allegiance to the state. Excuse this intrusion upon your valuable time. I know of no one so suited for the task of proving that the opinion of the indirect Temporal Power is entirely without danger to the loyalty of Catholics.

With great respect and esteem I remain as ever yours truly,

RICHARD H. CLARKE.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.

Another young friend, George H. Miles, of whom mention has been repeatedly made in this volume, wrote : "Hip! Hip! Hurra!!! Hurra for your article on Nativism—your mild, tender, paternal warning to young Ireland. Thanks for an attitude that can alone preserve us, *who are willing to fight*, from menaced massacre. I'll stick by you to the death, and have already, for the first time in my life, planted a firm foot and dared friend and foe to come on." And a little later : "I declined association with the *Metropolitan*, chiefly because they are impertinently attacking you."

One more letter from a distinguished Catholic author must be inserted here.

VICE-CONSULATE OF FRANCE,
CINCINNATI, July 15, 1854.

SIR:—I have read with painful surprise several paragraphs in this week's *Catholic Telegraph* with reference to yourself.

Statements and language such as these articles embody cannot fail to excite the horror and indignation of every Catholic truly attached to his church, and desirous of her progress in this country.

The attacks of sectaries and infidels are to be expected—but the malice of one of our own faith, who would deny you the poor boon an unrelenting 'code gives the criminal—that of presumption of innocence until proof of guilt—is surely matter for sad and serious reflection.

Not doubting that you will find in your own integrity of faith and strength of purpose the triumphal refutation of so scandalous an imputation as the Editor of the *Catholic Telegraph* seeks to cast upon you, I have the honor to subscribe myself your friend and well-wisher,

JAMES F. MELINE.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, BOSTON.

The Archbishop of New York made no public attack on Brownson, at this time; but in a friendly, though earnest, communication, expressed privately his dissatisfaction of two of his articles on the power of the pope, thinking they were inopportunely published, and different in doctrine from what the Review had previously held. Brownson wrote in reply that the fact that the assertion of a truth aroused opposition was a proof of its opportuneness, rather than the contrary, and denying that there was any difference between his present and former doctrine on the subject, "In what respect you think I have changed," he wrote "you do not specify, but you say I have abandoned my former ground. Is it not as likely that you

have misapprehended my real meaning as it is that I have changed without knowing it? I am the best judge of my own meaning, and I tell you that I have in no respect changed or modified the doctrine of my Review on the papal question, and I deny the right of any man, be he who he may, to say that I have. What you really mean to accuse me of, I do not know."

The Archbishop's answer is quite characteristic of the writer.

NEW YORK, July 7, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I do not think that I should have written to you, if I could have foreseen that my remarks would have afflicted you as much as your letter would seem to indicate. I fear that not much can be gained by private correspondence on the subject, for experience teaches us, that written language is often-times liable to be misapprehended by the reader, whereas, if the writer were present to explain, the misunderstanding might easily be removed. I fear very much that the two articles alluded to will give occasion to much injurious speculation, and prove detrimental to the Review, which I was amongst the first to encourage, and shall be amongst the last to give up. You may be sure that I never doubted the purity of your intentions or the uprightness of your motives in publishing them. Still, whilst all things are lawful some things are inexpedient, and among them I cannot help numbering these two articles. To recall them now, is, as you remark, impossible,—to discuss them would be making bad worse. And if they should ever be alluded to by me, or any other Catholic writer, I

should wish it done in a style and manner so remote as not to seem to have any direct bearing on the topics discussed. I am sorry to say that more than one of your subscribers have spoken to me on the subject, and with feelings of regret, kindred to those which the perusal of them awakened in myself. For my own part, I am decidedly opposed to any notice being taken of them in our Catholic papers. But I fear that the enemy will not allow them to escape. I would wish the subject to be dropped, and as far as depends on me, it shall not be alluded to either in writing or in conversation. I am exceedingly sorry if I have occasioned you pain,—that would be far from my intention. And even though I may be myself mistaken, I would have you not to be in the least discouraged by what I have said. I regret that it is not convenient for you to spend a week or ten days with us; but I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in the course of a little time. So far as I am concerned, the matter is now at an end, and I have only to assure you of the continued friendship and good wishes, with which I subscribe myself your devoted friend and servant in Christ.

† JOHN, ABP. OF N. YORK.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, ESQ., Boston.

The previous winter, Brownson lectured in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, and other places. The Bishop of Louisville had warmly welcomed him into the church, in a letter written at the time of his conversion. His invitation to lecture in Louisville shows that no change had yet come over his sentiments in the convert's regard.

LOUISVILLE, November 15, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—Many Catholics of this city, myself among the number, feel a *strong* desire to hear you lecture here; and in their name and my own I invite you to do so during the ensuing winter. When I had the pleasure of seeing you in Louisville nearly two years ago, we conversed on the subject, and you were pleased to give us hopes that we should have the gratification of more than a transient visit at no distant period. My absence in Europe during the whole of the past winter prevented my urging the invitation upon you at that time; but I trust that at present it may suit your arrangements to do us all this favor.

As you are announced to lecture in St. Louis about Christmas, you could take Louisville en route, but I hope you will be able to give us some days.

Have the kindness to return me a favorable answer, and to mention the probable time of your visit; also the subject of your lectures, if you can decide on it beforehand.

Please present my warmest regards to your illustrious bishop, and believe me to remain very faithfully yours,

† M. J. SPALDING,

Bp. Louis.

O. A. BROWNSON, ESQ.

In the autumn of 1854, Brownson gave courses of lectures in Chicago and Milwaukee, and single lectures at some cities on the way thither and back. Linton, of the *Tablet*, in a note on the subject of the Chicago course, refers to some of the controversies then carried on. Linton's paper and Bakewell's were the two that stood strongest in Brownson's support.

CHICAGO, ILL., October 7, 1854.

DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I have just sent you a telegraphic dispatch, informing you that your lectures will commence on the 10th and finish on the 16th of November.

Under the head of "Answers to Correspondents," I shall allude to the matter of "Digby." *The Catholic Telegraph* is, in my opinion, unworthy of notice. I was sorry that you noticed it. Your idea of the *Metropolitan* is just the same as I expressed in a letter to Murphy & Co. some time ago, who had the impudence to write to me complaining that I did not puff it up enough. The liberal Gallican clergy are using their exertions to have it supersede your Review. I hope you have not lost much pecuniarily by the article on "Native-Americanism."

In pleasant anticipation of soon seeing you in the "Garden City," I remain your sincere and devoted friend,

WM. LINTON.

In no place did Brownson find such interest in the questions he was discussing in his lectures as in St. Louis. Much of this, no doubt, was due to the character of the Catholics whose families had been prominent there, and had exerted great influence on the tone of the city. His lectures stirred up much excitement, as has been said, and the result was examination of Catholic doctrine by Protestants, and consequently, numerous conversions. Garland's own daughter's conversion has been told in one of Garesché's letters, and from time to time his letters announced the

reception into the church of some one whom Brownson had met in St. Louis. Thus a few months after Brownson's visit, he writes, under date of April 15th, 1854: "It may afford you pleasure to know that Miss Hull (whom you met at Dr. Van Studdeford's), has, in the face of bitter opposition from her family, become Catholic. She showed her appreciation of the importance of the step by entering the Convent of the Visitation for a retreat of nine days. On the last day (Saturday), she was baptized, and the next morning received Holy Communion. Dr. V. is *in statu quo*. I would be delighted if, sparing time from your avocation, you would drop him a line. He would appreciate it as a favor, and with the influence you have over him it might be the means of perfecting the work of his conversion."

In his way to Chicago and Milwaukee, while near Chatham on the Great Western Road, one of the most disastrous accidents occurred. Those who escaped injury, among whom was Brownson, were working to relieve the suffering, when one of the most active in this work asked if any one had any brandy for one of the sufferers. Brownson offered his flask, and the gentleman, on taking it, inquired to whom he should return it. Brownson gave his name; whereupon the other said, "If I fail to find you, ask for Thomas F. Meagher." This led to an acquaintance that, on resuming their journey, made them better known one to another.

It was in this same year, 1854, that Brownson wrote "The Spirit-Rapper," published in the autumn by Little, Brown & Co.. The author, in describing it,

says: "It is not a novel; it is not a romance; it is not a biography of a real individual; it is not a dissertation, an essay, or a regular treatise; and yet it perhaps has some of the elements of them all, thrown together in just such a way as best suited my convenience or my purpose." The book explains the phenomena of so-called Spiritualism, or, as Brownson preferred to say, Spiritism; and maintains the connection of spirit-rapping, or spirit manifestations, with "modern philanthropy, visionary reforms, socialism, and revolutionism," as must necessarily be the case, if all are begotten by the same father. From a literary point of view, the author felt that the book was open to criticism, and he furthermore felt that his criticisms of others rendered him a fair mark for shafts of retaliation. His apprehensions on that score were not realized. Rev. John Boyce, author of the Spaewife, had said to Brownson, when he criticised this novel with considerable severity, "Wait till you write a novel, and see how I can criticise it." Just after the "Spirit-Rapper" was published, they met at the Bishop of Boston's dinner table, and in the course of the talk, Brownson laughingly said to Boyce, "Now you have the opportunity you have been waiting for, and I shall look for something worth reading as a criticism." Boyce replied very seriously: "No, that is a good book, and I would not say a word that might tend to defeat the purpose for which it was written."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KNOW-NOTHINGS.—BROWNSON'S POLICY TO DEFEAT THEM.—EVANGELICALS.—THE CATHOLIC MIRROR.—MITCHEL.—BANKS.—CHANDLER.—M'CLINTOCK.—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE POWER OF THE POPE.—O'CONNOR ON THE BULL INEFFABILIS DEUS.—SOME FOREIGNERS AGREE WITH BROWNSON.

THE attacks on Brownson's Review in 1854, made by a certain class of bishops, editors, and their followers were not confined to his advocacy of the rights of the spiritual and papal power, and its necessity as a defense against despotism. He had also to fight almost single-handed to defend against Catholics his right to be an American, and against Americans his right to be a Catholic.

Recent occurrences had given additional vigor to the so-called Native-American party, based on opposition to foreigners and to Catholics. In the last election for President, much was said about Scott, the Whig candidate, being a Native-American, and the attempt was made to offset this accusation by the objection that Pierce was from a state which deprived Catholics of equal privileges with Protestants. Whatever effect this may have had on the votes of foreign-born citizens, the fact was that after Pierce's election, and he was elected by an almost unanimous vote of the electors, Irish Catholic newspapers, boasted that they had elected him. The Whigs believed that they owed their defeat to the

votes of the naturalized citizens, who had been induced by the demagogues of the other side to go in a body against them, and very naturally felt their sentiment of nationality offended, and their resentment kindled against the naturalized citizens. These citizens formed in some respects, as it were, a people by themselves, organized and drilled companies of their own, with foreign sympathies and antipathies; were represented by a press, discussing freely and without moderation all questions of internal and external policy, circulating almost exclusively among themselves, and loudly boasting their ability to throw out or throw in either of the two great parties at will, and to elect or defeat any candidate for the Presidency as he was or was not acceptable to them. They went further, and declaimed against Native-Americanism, vituperated or ridiculed under the name of "Natyvism" the strong feeling of nationality possessed by every American, denounced it as anti-republican or anti-democratic, claimed all that is noble or commendable in our past history, whether in literature or in science, art or industry, war or politics, as the work of Irishmen, and poured out the accumulated wrath of ages upon the Anglo-Saxon race from which the majority of us had sprung, representing it as incapable of any thing great or good, and as fruitful only in works of darkness. That a storm of Native-American indignation should result was to be expected.

Brownson knew that the Anglo-Americans were abundantly able to take care of themselves. He spoke in the interest of the foreign-born population when he warned them against provoking a contest with native-

Americanism, and against confounding proper native American feeling with anti-Catholic feeling; for the two feelings were at bottom essentially distinct, and it was clearly for the Catholic interest to keep them so. The alliance of the American sentiment of nationality with the anti-Catholic feeling was an accident, mainly due to the fact that those who had most offended that sentiment were presumed to be Catholics. In fact, the first paper started by the Native-American party as its special organ was conducted by Catholics of American descent; and the greatest strength of the new party, known as "Know-Nothings," was in Louisiana and Maryland.* Brownson had himself, immediately after his conversion, made the mistake of confounding those two feelings; but even then he warned the foreign population against engaging, even for their own defence, in the controversy excited by the Native-American party; because, however well meant their words and true at bottom, they produced a different effect from that intended. What the Irish should have aimed at was not to excite pity for their country's misfortunes, but rather to prove that they had the energy and manliness to take part in the work then and there to be accomplished.

Brownson had a strong affection for the Irish Catholics, as he had shown repeatedly in his writings both before and after he became a Catholic; he undoubtedly spoke as their friend, and not their enemy, on the present occasion. "The great majority of them," he said,† are quiet, modest, peaceful, and loyal citizens, adorning religion by their faith and

* *The Native Americans*, Works, vol. xviii, p. 281.

† Works, vol. xviii, p. 259.

piety, and enriching the country by their successful trade or their productive industry. But it cannot be denied that hanging loosely on to their skirts is a miserable rabble, unlike anything which the country has ever known of native growth—a noisy, drinking, and brawling rabble, who have, after all, a great deal of influence with their countrymen, who are usually taken to represent the whole Irish Catholic body, and who actually do compromise it to an extent much greater than good Catholics, attentive to their own business, commonly suspect, or can easily be made to believe. . . . The real Anglo-American people are staunch, uncompromising republicans, and prefer death to slavery, but they are naturally sober in their views, moderate in their demands, and loyal in their hearts. They are naturally an orderly and law-abiding people. They are not loyal to men, but they are loyal to law, and no people are better disposed to understand and respect the laws. In declaring and winning their national independence, they attempted no Utopia; they sought in their institutions to guard alike against the despotism of authority and the license of the subject. In all they did there was a wise moderation, a sobriety, and a good sense, which proved that they had in them the elements of a great, free, and noble people. In this respect, there is a marked difference between them and every considerable class of immigrants, except those of the old English stock. The Irish . . . have never acquired the American respect for law as a civil enactment; and though loyal by nature, they require the law to be embodied in a person, and represented by a chief. . . .

"Now whoever knows the history of our country knows that the radicalism from which it has so much to apprehend has been favored by the mass of foreigners poured in upon us. It was at a very early day powerfully seconded, we may almost say introduced, by Protestant Irishmen from the north of Ireland. The editors who so disgraced the Republicans in their contests at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, with the old Federal party, honored by being the party of Washington and Adams, were for the most part Irishmen, who had caught their inspiration from French Jacobinism, and not being able to fasten it upon their own country, came hither to blast with its sirocco breath the rich promises of our young republic. . . . When this is considered, and also that our country has become, as it were a *refugium peccatorum* of all nations, to which all the miscreants of Europe may flock and carry on their war against the peace of nations and social order, mingle foreign politics with our own, and make the merits of candidates depend on their views of O'Connell, Kossuth, Smith O'Brien, Kinkel, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Napoleon or Francis Joseph, Nicholas of Russia or the Sultan of Turkey, it can surprise no one that there should be in our midst a powerful Native-American party, filled with hostility to foreigners . . . There is a real danger that it will not do either to deny or to disguise; but that must be bravely met in some way, if we are to remain a model republic, a well-ordered republic, and not to degenerate into the government of the mob."

If the Native-American party had planted itself on the high ground of real Americanism, or on the right of

a nation to preserve its own national character, it would have met with success, and with the support of hundreds and thousands of the most intelligent and influential of our public men. Unfortunately it took its stand on the ground that the public had the right to determine what should or should not be the religion of individuals, and directed its opposition, not to foreigners in general, but to Catholic foreigners in particular, who were the most conservative of all, and from whom the least danger was to be apprehended.

Brownson, therefore, declared that he would not oppose Native-Americanism if it would only be impartial and not discriminate against Catholics; and he urged foreign Catholics themselves to consider whether it would not be wiser and more for their interests to be themselves excluded from citizenship than that the most dangerous class of immigrants, imbued with the infidel and anarchical principles of European revolutionists, and carrying on amongst us their machinations against legitimate authority and social order in a language which very few of our countrymen were able to understand, should be placed on an equality with natural-born citizens.

Hardly was the Review for July, 1854, received by the editors of the Irish and Catholic papers, before there was another howl, worse than that against the assertion of the supremacy of the spiritual order. The first respectable journal in the assault was the Freeman's Journal. McMaster, its editor, was born in this country; but seems to have been very greatly exasperated by the aspersions cast on the north of Ireland radicals. Brownson did not mind much what appeared

in McMaster's paper at this time : it had said already so much against him that its power seemed to be lost, and, as usual where vituperation and abuse are carried to great excess, they rather injure their author than his victim. The article, however, was copied in the Baltimore Catholic Mirror, which likewise published a very offensive personal attack by a correspondent on Brownson, calling forth the following letter :

BOSTON, July 11, 1854.

To the Editors of the *Catholic Mirror*.

GENTLEMEN :—I regret that you should have inserted in your paper of the 8th inst., the article headed *Dr. Brownson and Native-Americanism*, for I cannot but think that on cool reflection, you will see that it was uncalled for, and unjust to you and me.

I am surprised that you should not have seen the impolicy; to say nothing more, of denouncing an American Catholic publicist for expressing himself as a loyal American citizen, for that is really the purport of your article, certainly as the non-Catholic public will understand it. An impudent fellow, when I first became a Catholic, called me, because I had become a Catholic, a traitor to my country, and I knocked him down for the insult. The standing charge against us is that our religion is anti-American, and what have you done but confirm that charge, which you and I both know to be false, in the minds of those who bring it? Do you not see that you give them occasion to say, "It is as we said. Dr. Brownson has had the audacity to speak as an American citizen, and here are the Catholics out upon him in full cry." The fact that a native American Catholic deals the blow only makes

the matter worse, because they will say, "What but his Catholicity could have induced him to denounce his brother Catholic for his American sympathies?"

I think, gentlemen, here is an aspect of this question you did not consider. If it was imprudent for me to write as an American, it was somewhat imprudent for you to denounce me in no measured terms for so doing.

The temper displayed by your correspondent is not precisely to my taste. It is not that of a gentleman, much less that of a Catholic. I have committed no crime, I have fallen into no heresy, I have desecrated no holy thing. The most you can say is that you and I differ in opinion on a secular question of some importance.—Now there are as many chances that I am right as there are that you and your correspondent are. You have no right to impugn my motives, or attack me as if I was seeking to overthrow the Catholic Church in the United States. All you had a right to do was with courtesy, in Christian tone and manner, to point out what you thought was erroneous in my statements, or inconclusive in my reasoning. Is that what you have done? That article of mine on Native-Americanism was submitted to a Catholic theologian appointed by the Bishop of Boston to examine my articles during his absence, and was approved by him before it was placed in the hands of the printers. This should at least save me from personal abuse, and from being held up to the indignation of the Catholic community by a professedly Catholic journal. The views of that article have been uniformly asserted in my Review ever since July, 1845, the first year of its existence as a Catholic

Review. Why cry out against me now rather than on former occasions? Moreover, the *Boston Pilot*, the leading Irish Catholic Journal in the United States, has published the same views,* and did so long before my article appeared. Why single me out instead of that influential journal? Is it because I happen to be an American and a convert?†

Your correspondent speaks of my venting my spleen against the Irish. How does he know that I have any spleen against the Irish? I have never flattered the Irish. I have addressed them as Catholics, and I shall not be driven to do otherwise hereafter. I have seen the warm susceptibilities of the Irish heart played upon by foreign and native-born demagogues, till my blood has boiled with indignation; and I shall never, for the sake of any base and selfish purposes, imitate those demagogues. My acts must speak for themselves. If ever I let an opportunity pass of rendering them a service, either at home or abroad, when in my power, then let me be called their enemy, but not till then. I may err in my judgment as to what is for their service, but that I am their enemy is false as hell. Why should I be their enemy? Have I ever received any injury from them? Have I ever received from the great body of them in this country or elsewhere anything but benefits? Does your correspondent suppose me incapable of gratitude?

I do not believe that a man must be an Irishman,

* Written by Rev. John T. Roddan, the Editor, who was also the theologian selected by the Bishop as Brownson's censor in his absence.

† There had lately been considerable discussion in the Catholic papers as to the merits, rights, and duties, respectively of Converts and "Old Catholics," in which it was maintained by some that converts should be restricted to learning, and restrained from teaching Catholic doctrine.

a German, or a Frenchman, in order to be a good Catholic; for I believe that God hath made of one blood all nations of men, and that we are all his offspring. I do not attach much importance to the distinctions of race, which, in my judgment, are simply accidental and superficial, and if I have ever insisted on the respect due in this country to the dominant nationality, there has been a reason for my doing so, which I should think could be divined without supposing me to have any hostility to any other race.

I have shown in my article, for which I am so unmercifully handled by your correspondent, who, if he has not the merit of charity, seems to have, in a large measure, that of its opposite, that I have no spleen against the Irish or any other class of foreign-born Catholics. I except the great body of Irish and German Catholics from the charges I bring against foreigners, and I place them in the front rank of American citizens. If your correspondent had succeeded in understanding my article, he would have seen that the foreigners I complain of are the foreign radicals, chiefly the Protestant Irish, and the non-Catholics of the continent of Europe. Nobody with whom your paper has any sympathy is attacked by me, or whom the *Catholic Mirror* can defend consistently with its title. I have attacked no Catholic foreign-born citizen or resident. I have charged the growing radicalism of the country to foreigners and foreign influence, but I have said that Catholic foreigners are precisely those on whom we must depend to neutralize that radicalism. Why has your correspondent, and why have you yourself, taken no notice of this fact,

but attacked me as if I had attacked with good set purpose all foreigners indiscriminately? If you think the case at best is bad against me, why try to make it worse than it is?

Your correspondent will have it that what he calls my charges against foreigners are unfounded, and yet he concedes that they are true in the case of some. Well, have I said they were true in the case of all? Have I not said to the contrary? I shall enter into no vindication of my statements discreditable to certain classes of non-Catholic or merely nominally Catholic foreigners. I shall be most happy to find myself proved to have been in the wrong, for I have no wish to find others in fault.

These remarks have extended, gentlemen, to a greater length than I intended. I could not, however, make them shorter. Allow me to say that I think that you and others have been unnecessarily alarmed, have cried out before you were hurt. I cannot persuade myself that there is any thing that anybody save radicals and red-republicans need be angry at in what I have said, and certainly said with very different views and feelings from what you have supposed. I had a motive which I supposed would be patent to every Catholic; but it seems that in this I overrated their sagacity, and of course must suffer for my mistake. The end I had in view was, I am sure, such as every Catholic who is, and every foreigner who wishes to become, a citizen of this Union, would have heartily approved; and believing that I enjoyed the confidence of the Catholic public, I felt very sure of accomplishing it. But I was mistaken; and by the

hastiness and passion of my Catholic friends it has been defeated.

But allow me, gentlemen, to conclude by calling your attention to one or two facts, which should be known without telling them. We Catholics are in a small minority, and the sentiment of the country is strongly anti-Catholic. Every measure that we oppose as hostile to us, the country will favor and adopt, and every measure we support as favorable to our interests, it will reject. I am sorry that it is so, but so it is; and I think that in regard to matters which depend on popular votes, and in which we are interested as Catholics, the more quiet we keep the better it will be for us. You ought from this to understand me.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

O. A. BROWNSON.

The Editor of the *Mirror*, in commenting on this letter, said, "In it he says some bitter things, the truth of which only adds to their bitterness. It cannot be denied that some of our contemporaries have treated Mr. Brownson with too much harshness. One of them has even gone to the intolerable length of questioning the sincerity of his Catholic faith Our only regret is that we inserted, though far from endorsing it, the N. Y. Freeman's Journal's very severe commentary on Mr. Brownson's article." But the Mirror could only look at the matter from the Irish point of view, and would not understand, or would not accept, any more than the Irish Catholic journals generally, the very wise plan by which Brownson sought to head off the Know-Nothing movement, by confining the Catholic opposition to what concerned Catholics as such. If the Catholics had

said to the Native-Americans: Repeal, if you will, the naturalization laws; only interfere not with religious freedom, and make no distinction on account of religion, they would have been supported by the people generally; for, however anti-Catholic they were in those days, the love of religious freedom was too strong to be easily overcome. It was on that principle that the Know-Nothings were finally defeated; and they would never have become so strong as they did become, if they had not had the sympathy of both the anti-Catholic and the anti-foreign feelings. It would not have been necessary to sacrifice the foreigners for the sake of the Catholics; because the party would have been too weak to be formidable with only the anti-Catholic sentiment to uphold it. But even if he was wrong in this belief, had Brownson succeeded in separating the question of Catholics from the question of foreigners, and the naturalization laws been repealed so as to exclude all foreigners, Catholicity would have suffered nothing, and the nation escaped evils, ever increasing, and not yet at their greatest growth.

Brownson's article maintained that nativism, or love of our native land, is natural to all mankind, including Americans; that it was not becoming immigrants to sneer at or otherwise outrage that sentiment, and that it was the policy of the enemies of our religion to make it appear that the Catholic body in this country was entirely foreign; consequently, by the Catholic opposition as a body to Native-Americanism in the abstract, they assumed the attitude of foreigners, and threw themselves into the very position their enemies were laboring to put them in.

They went further, and threw "a tub to the whale" by insinuating and charging that all the excitement was attributable to Brownson's defence of the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal. The anti-Catholic press jumped at the suggestion; but not exactly as had been expected. While citing Brownson's claims for the power of the popes, they uniformly insisted that his Review, from which they quoted, or pretended to quote, was the recognized organ of the Catholic Church in the United States. The principle for which Brownson contended,—that nations as well as individuals, governments as well as those governed, are subject to the law of God,—was one which few would openly deny; but when Brownson further declared that the church, and therefore the pope, was the authorized interpreter of this law, they understood, or pretended to understand him to maintain the right of the pope, a foreign power, to dictate to us the course to be pursued in all civil and political matters. How much more consistent with national independence was their claim that each individual was such interpreter?

Books, sermons, speeches, and pamphlets were published to prove that Brownson's Review, which was proclaimed to be the authorized Catholic organ, advocated "temporal allegiance to the pope."* In reply to the charge of allegiance to a foreign potentate Brownson explains that in some countries, as formerly in England, which were fiefs of the Holy See, the pope was lord paramount; but this country never having been a fief of the sort, the pope has no feudal

* Reviews of two of those books—"Romanism in America" and "The Papal Conspiracy Exposed"—may be read in Brownson's Works, vol. vii., p. 508 and 543.

claims over it, and his authority over Catholics in this country is simply his authority as spiritual head of the church,—an authority in an order above the state and distinct from it; and therefore obedience to that authority can never conflict with obedience to the State. Here the state disclaims all authority in the spiritual order, and recognizes the perfect freedom and independence of religion. It does not *tolerate* all religions, for the power to tolerate implies the power to suppress; but it recognizes the equal rights of all religions. These rights are not grants from the state; it does not confer them,—it respects and protects them. In acknowledging the equal rights of all religions, the American system acknowledges that the state has no authority in spirituals, and therefore in religious matters has no claim to the obedience or allegiance of any of its subjects or citizens. Hence, as the pope has only authority over Catholics in the spiritual order, no obedience he can exact of them, or which they owe him, can ever conflict with any obedience which the state with us even claims as its due.*

At the Massachusetts State Council of the Know-Nothings† August 7th, 1855, at Springfield, a platform was adopted, the sixth article of which contained these words: "We rebuke in indignant terms such sentiments as these, put forth by the representatives of the papal power:—that 'Protestantism has no rights in the presence of Catholicism; that 'religious liberty is only to be endured until the opposite can be established with safety to the Catholic world'; and that

* Works, vol. xviii., p. 345.

† The name by which the party opposed to Catholic foreigners was by this time designated,

'the Catholics of America are bound to abide by the interpretation put upon the constitution of the United States by the Pope of Rome.'"

Brownson replied to the Know-Nothings in the next number of his Review, that for October:

"'Protestantism has no rights in the presence of Catholicity.' This sentence is, we believe, from our Review, and was written by its editor. We do not deny it, and are prepared to stand by it. But we have never said, '*Protestants* have no rights in presence of *Catholics*.' Between the two assertions there is a distance. We speak as a Catholic, and as a Catholic we of course hold Catholicity to be the true and the only true religion. We do not concede Protestantism is or possibly can be true. In the mind of a Catholic there is no room for doubt, and on this point there is nothing left to be settled. Catholicity is true, and Protestantism, as its contradictory, is and cannot but be false. We do not admit the possibility of our being wrong in this, or of Protestants being right. We are as certain that we are right as we are that we exist, or that it is impossible for God to lie; and as certain as we are that we are right, so certain we are that Protestantism is a huge error, a satanic delusion. Now, an error can never have any rights in presence of truth. Protestantism can have none in presence of Catholicity."* The two other sentences in the platform were sheer forgeries.

The Evangelical portion of the Know-Nothing party, in strict concert with Exeter Hall, which, unable to use doctrinal instruction, moral suasion or the sacraments, in the contest with Catholics, is forced to

resort to the civil arm and to demand legislation against them, is shown to be acting according to its very nature and necessities. "We are," say the Evangelicals, "the saints, and to us God has given the government of the World. We alone, of all the children of men, have rights, and hence with those not joined to us we may do as we please." Evangelicalism has then in its own view the right to suppress by violence, without regard to the individual or personal rights, whatever it chooses to regard as sin or evil. Having no moral means, it is obliged to resort to the civil force or fail of its end. All its philanthropy, all its better affections, perverted by its principle, urge it to act the tyrant and the persecutor. And to do so is not an exception, is not an inconsequence, an aberration from its principles, but to act in strict and logical conformity with them. It is a necessity of its nature. There is not a single reform, of whatever name or nature, that it is able to effect without a resort to force, because it has no moral means that are adequate. Hence it is that under its influence every thing wise and good turns to evil. All that is sweet in human nature it sours, or ferments into an intoxicating draught. It cannot meliorate the political and social condition of mankind without violence, trampling on natural and vested rights, and asserting the principles of the most odious tyranny. It cannot seek the emancipation of the slave without despotism to the master. It cannot labor to suppress intemperance, that crying evil, without its prohibitory legislation, which sacrifices individual freedom, and violates the rights of property, sacred in every civilized state. It has only one method of proceeding. This is to begin

by agitating the public mind for the reform it wishes, and then through its agitation and affiliated associations to get possession of the legislature, and make a law enforcing it. It must do so, because it has not the sacraments or spiritual means by which it may reach the heart and remove evil by purifying its source. The whole history of the philanthropic and reform movements of the day proves it, and therefore that Evangelicalism is deadly hostile in its own nature to both civil and religious liberty. The great truth that this age needs to learn is, that civil and religious liberty must stand or fall together, and that neither has any support save in the doctrine, the discipline, and the sacraments of the Catholic Church; for save by this means there is and can be no harmonizing of nature and grace, liberty and authority. Out of Catholicity either nature is denied, as with Evangelicals, or grace is denied, as with the rationalists; and to deny either is to render our civil liberty practically impossible.

"The Evangelical, otherwise called the Puritan party, played a conspicuous part in what is called the Reformation. Imported into England originally by the Lollards, and subsequently from Geneva, that Rome of Protestantism, it attained to power under Cromwell, received a check in the Restoration, was successfully appealed to in the Revolution of 1688, and sunk into insignificance till revived and reinvigorated by Wesley and Whitefield. In this country it was predominant in nearly all the colonies on their early settlement, but had been shorn in great measure of its power prior to the assertion of our independence of the crown of Great Britain. It made a rally under the elder Adams, but

was defeated by the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1800, and fell into a minority. It has never had the control of the general government, and rarely has it ever been in power in any of the state governments. But ever since the rise of Methodism, under John Wesley, in the last century, it has been with us and in Great Britain steadily on the increase. It has worked in secret as well as openly, and with a perseverance worthy of the cause it professes to be, but is not. It has availed itself, with consummate address, of every popular incident or movement that seemed capable of being made to operate to its advantage. It has obtained the control of nearly all the great philanthropic movements of the day, directs your abolition and temperance societies, and enlists in its service the great mass of British and American infidelity. It has its affiliated societies for every kind of object subsidiary to its main purpose, spread as a vast network over the whole land, and has succeeded in making itself important to politicians. In a word, it has practised, and still practises, all the arts which it falsely and calumniously lays to the charge of the Jesuits and the Catholic hierarchy. It has once more, in the vicissitudes of modern history, become formidable, and may be regarded as now on the point of seizing the political power in both Great Britain and the United States.

"It is this Evangelical element, a singular compound of cant and hypocrisy, of cunning and impudence, of philanthropy and hate, of infidelity and fanaticism, that renders the Know-Nothing party dangerous, and this element enters into both sections or divisions of the order, and is that which distinguishes the so-called

American party from the ordinary Whig party of the country. In this Know-Nothing organization, Evangelicalism hopes to accede to power. That it will succeed we are unwilling to believe, and if it were confined to our own country we should confidently count on its failure, for though it constitutes the life and vigor of Protestantism, it is very far from commanding itself to the whole Protestant body. But the Evangelicals of the United States and of the United Kingdom constitute only one and the same people, acting in concert under the guidance of the same leaders, and its victory or defeat in one is its victory or defeat in the other. . . .

"What we Catholics have now to do in Great Britain and the United States is to defend civil and religious liberty against the conspiracy of Evangelicals, led on by such men as Lord Shaftesbury, Achilli, Gavazzi, the Beechers, the Clarks, and the Ned Buntlines, aided, no doubt, by all the cunning, subtlety, and malice of Satan. In this grand contest it will serve little purpose to show that we are friendly to civil and religious liberty; we must take higher ground, and show from incontrovertible facts and arguments that Evangelicalism is in its very nature and tendency in the last degree hostile to every species of rational liberty, and that it is only on Catholic ground that either civil or religious liberty can be sustained. We must hurl back on these Evangelical canters and sniffers the charges which they falsely allege against us and our religion. Let there be no timidity, no trimming, no compromise. They are the party opposed to civil and religious liberty, ingrained tyrants and

despots, who are ready to march to power over the grave of all that is dear and sacred to the human heart, all that is liberal and ennobling in human culture, all that is cheerful and recreating in human society, all that is true and holy in religion. We can speak to the public as well as they, and we must undeceive those whose confidence they have abused, and rally anew the real friends of British and American freedom."*

Instead of acting as Brownson advised, a large number of Catholics and Catholic journals, many of the latter Episcopal organs, adopted the plan of appeasing Know-Nothing hostility by denouncing Brownson and his doctrine of the rights of the spiritual order. John Mitchel, famous for his advocacy of the use of vitriol against the troops in case of a street-conflict, in his native Ireland, and of the reopening of the slave-trade in this country, had escaped from Botany Bay to New York at the end of 1854. He started in New York a weekly journal, called "The Citizen", said to have about 50,000 subscribers almost from the start, most of whom were Irish Catholics. No journal seems to have had so much influence with the Catholic Irish in the United States as Mitchel's; and when he, a very late arrival on our shore, explained the nature and cause of the Native-American or Know-Nothing fury, his judgment was of great weight with his Irish sympathizers. He addressed a long communication to Brownson, in *The Citizen*, a few extracts from which will suffice for the whole. "It is a bad world, Doctor," he said, "and the time is out of joint. A Native-American party you approve; but *the* Native-American

* Works, vol. xviii., pp. 375-380.

party is all wrong. In respect it hates foreigners, you like it very well; but in respect it especially hates Catholic foreigners, it goes much against your stomach. In respect it knocks men down, look you, it fits your humor well; but in respect it knocks down the wrong man, it is tedious. Why will it set fire to the churches of its best friends? Why will it be hand in glove with German and Hungarian Revolutionists? Why hoot Bedini, and cheer Gavazzi, and hearken to the trump of the Angel Gabriel? Why will it not come to *you*, and clothe itself in a soutane, and get a small tonsure on the top of its head, and comport itself like an Anglo-American penitent before its confessor?

"It will cost you much pains, I apprehend, to set all this right; especially as you, Doctor Orestes, *you* more than any one living man, have aroused and kindled this strong anti-Catholic, and therefore anti-Irish spirit in America, by your ultra-Catholic and anti-republican teachings and writings. Innumerable and disgusting *Shepherds of the Valley* and *Freeman's Journals* have been a brood of your begetting; and on the part of my Irish fellow-countrymen, I accuse you of so misrepresenting them and their church before the American people, that any republican nation could not but look on them and all their ways with suspicion and abhorrence.

"How easy it would be to turn you inside out now—and to point out in the pages of your own Review the very doctrines which have alarmed the genuine republican spirit of this country, and have given to the native party whatever genuine vigor it possesses! Since '48, you have regularly enlisted yourself on

the side of all the tyrants of Europe, regularly exerted yourself to cry down all attempts of the down-trodden people everywhere to throw off royal and imperial yokes, and become as American republicans.

"And all your miserable echoes at the Press, from the Mississippi to Boston Bay, vied with you in adulation of Austria, and in heaping infamous names on the gallant republicans of Italy and France :—nay, they improved on your doctrine of intolerance (for you could not restrain the fools within the bounds of your prudent example), until the land reverberated with anathemas on liberty ; and men might almost fancy they heard the thunders of the Vatican bursting on the Alleghanies, and saw the tide of the Mississippi reddened by the fires of the Inquisition.

"This, I say, has been your work, Doctor Orestes ; *hence* has come whatever of bitterness and ferocity is to be found in the Native-American party ; this outrageous caricature of Catholicity, held up to America by you (after you had tired of all the other religions), has been the principal spring, and is the only excuse for the furious anti-Irish spirit which is now raging.

"One leading idea of the Native-American party is alone sufficient to prove this. They say there must be drawn a distinction between 'Citizens of America,' and 'subjects of the Pope.' They have got the idea—it was from you and your echoes they caught it—that a Catholic must be a bad citizen. And if you and your echoes were true exponents of Catholicity, they would be right. In that case I would make no scruple to avow that no Catholic is fit to be a citizen of any country ; and, not content with disfranchising, I would exterminate them."

Nathaniel P. Banks, a Know-Nothing member of Congress from Massachusetts, charging the Catholics with holding the doctrine defended by Brownson of the supremacy of the spiritual order over the temporal, and urging that this doctrine was incompatible with the loyalty of the subject and the independence of the State, Joseph R. Chandler, a representative from Pennsylvania, and a Catholic, replied to the member from Massachusetts, January 11th, 1855. His reply was little more than the repudiation of Brownson and his views, and the assertion sustained by the authorities he cited, that the pope claims no civil jurisdiction by divine right out of the Ecclesiastical States, from which he pretended to conclude the entire independence of the temporal power. The Rev. Dr. John McClintock, a Protestant divine of rare intelligence, learning, and ability, and editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, replied to Chandler in his work called "The Temporal Power of the Pope," and containing Chandler's speech and "Nine Letters stating the prevailing Roman Catholic Theory in the language of the Papal Writers." The author proves that the attempt to ward off the objections of non-Catholics to the papal power on the ground assumed by Chandler is idle: and by copious quotations from Brownson shows that the power he claimed for the pope is not temporal, but spiritual, and that it is only a power in regard to temporals, claimed for him as the representative of the spiritual order on earth. "Every one knows," says McClintock, "that the pope never claimed any civil or political authority out of his own dominions. The question is, whether he has 'an indirect temporal authority' over the kings

and people 'in virtue of his spiritual authority.''* More just to Brownson than his Catholic opponents, McClintock stated his doctrine fairly; easily showed that it was the doctrine of Catholic theologians, with the exception of a small and daily diminishing school of Gallicans, hardly worth taking into the account. It is true, he thought the mere statement of the doctrine of the supremacy of the spiritual order over the temporal,—what he termed "an abominable doctrine,"—would seem odious enough to his readers. So far as Methodists, or Evangelicals, were concerned, he was right in so thinking; for these would enslave conscience had they the power, and make right and wrong mere creations of the civil government provided they controlled the government; but the Puritans, who founded the Massachusetts colony,—not the Plymouth-Rock Pilgrims of the Old Colony—based their whole system on this doctrine; for this they left their homes in England, that they might enjoy their natural rights in a community where the moral order was superior to the civil and independent of it. If there is any truth which the convictions of the American people, their intelligence and spirit clung to, it was the doctrine that we must obey God rather than man,—the supremacy of the spiritual, the moral, the religious order. It is the basis of the Declaration of Independence, of all our Bills of Rights, and it was, though misapplied, the principle on which the Abolitionists relied in their appeal to the "Higher Law." It was, too, the principle underlying the American love of religious liberty, freedom of conscience, on which the opponents of Know-Nothingism

* McClintock's *Temporal Power of the Pope*, p. 120.

successfully combatted religious proscription. From every corner of the United States, during the Know-Nothing controversy, Brownson received letters from persons whom he had never known, or even heard of, inquiring about the Catholic doctrine of allegiance to the pope, or inclosing slips cut from Know-Nothing papers which contained pretended quotations from his Review, asking if these were genuine. Many of these letters were answered, and were followed by replies to the effect that the answers were satisfactory; or that the writer was determined to defend the rights of Catholics, as thereby he indirectly defended his own; or that he would not see the right of conscience struck down; and in no case have I found an instance of a letter expressing dissent from the doctrine in the Review, once it was fully explained. The battle against Know-Nothingism was really fought, as Brownson had desired and advised from the first, on the question of religious freedom, and the opposition to foreigners fell with the political opposition to Catholics. Mitchel, Meagher, McGee, etc., with some of the Episcopal organs, / kept up their abuse of Americans and laudation of the Irish; but they were not much heeded, nor did they have any perceptible influence on the result.

It may be as well to insert here a specimen of the communications on the subject of Know-Nothingism, received by Brownson, and his answer.

POOLSVILLE, MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
MARYLAND, October 1st, 1855.

TO ORESTES A. BROWNSON.

SIR:—You will permit us, Americans by birth, and Protestants by profession, to address you a few lines.

The period of our election draws near, political discussions run high, parties are bitterly arrayed against each other, and public meetings, and political speeches have become the order of the day.—We are democrats, and consequently opposed to the destructive party called *Know-Nothings*.

In all the public meetings of K. N. their text from the beginning to the end of the address, is the pope—Brownson (yourself) and Catholicity. Now, Sir, we wish to be just to our adopted Catholic fellow-citizens. You are accused of writings derogatory to our principles as Americans, and to our institutions. These charges we do not believe, and in order that we may be able effectually to contradict such charges, we beg that you will enable us, by some means, written or printed, to put our accusers to shame, and brand them with the lies for which K. N. is so prolific. We beg also, that you will, if possible, send us your Review containing allegiance to the pope and your strictures on the speech of Mr. Chandler of Pa. delivered in defence of Catholic principles during the last session of Congress, etc., etc.

We therefore submit the following questions to you, hoping they will at once receive a cordial and sincere reply, to be forwarded to our postmaster.

1. Are you the acknowledged organ of the Catholic Church in the United States?
2. Do the Catholic bishops in the United States acknowledge your Review as the propounder of Catholic faith?
3. Do you believe, or did you ever assert in your Review, that the Catholics of the United States owed temporal allegiance to the pope—of Rome?

4. Do you believe, or did you ever assert in your Review, that the principles contained in the speech of Hon. Mr. Chandler were not the principles of the Catholic Church?

You will please excuse the liberty we take, and as you must know, our intentions are honest and good, we will hope for a speedy reply to the above interrogatories, and beg to subscribe ourselves, Respectfully, your fellow-citizens. T. RANDOLPH HALL; BENJAMIN F. REID; GEORGE W. CHISWELL; WILLIAM A. CHISWELL; C. N. MOSSBURG; HOWARD GRIFFITH.

The answer follows:

BOSTON, Oct. 8, 1855.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received yours of the 1st inst., and should have replied much earlier had I not been absent from home. I appreciate your motives, and receive your request in the spirit in which it was made. I cannot send you the number of my Review in which I have asserted allegiance, if you mean *civil* allegiance, to the pope, because I have published no such number. I have never asserted, out of the Papal State, any civil authority or jurisdiction for the pope, or any other than spiritual allegiance to him as the duty of Catholics. They who have accused me, whether Catholics or non-Catholics, of maintaining that Catholics owe civil allegiance to the visible head of their church, have grossly misrepresented me.

The accusation that I have published writings derogatory to our institutions and principles as Americans, is false. I have uniformly, on all occasions, defended the institutions of my country, and contended that every American citizen is bound in conscience to

defend them against every attack upon them, let the attack come from what quarter it may. I am not a revolutionist or a radical. I am conservative, and believe it my duty to lay down my life, if need be, in defence of American institutions and liberties bequeathed us by our American ancestors. I am bound to this as a patriot and as a Catholic.

Allow me to say, gentlemen, that there never was, and never can be a more ridiculously false charge than that brought against us as Catholics of hostility to American liberty and disloyalty to republican institutions. We are men and Americans as well as you, and yield to none of you in our love of liberty or of country. Our religion condemns every species of tyranny, because all tyranny is a violation of the law of God, and it makes it our duty to be peaceable citizens and loyal subjects. We cannot be disloyal to the republican constitution of this country without violating our duty as Catholics. In countries where despotism reigns men may lawfully by lawful means seek to change the government, and establish institutions which guaranty the rights of man; but in this country we have those institutions, and our duty, whether we are Catholics or non-Catholics, is to preserve them, and to secure their free development and wise and just application. This, gentlemen, has always been, and always will be, the uniform tenor of my writings.

To your first question : "Are you the acknowledged organ of the Catholic Church in the United States?" I answer explicitly, No, I am not. The only acknowledged organ of the Catholic Church in the

United States, as elsewhere, if we speak strictly, is the pope, and in communion with him the bishops, each in his own diocese.

To your second question: "Do the bishops of the United States acknowledge your Review as the propounder of Catholic faith?" I answer, as an authoritative propounder of the faith, no; as generally conforming in its doctrine to the Catholic faith, yes, otherwise they would censure it as heretical.

You ask in your third question: "Do you believe, or did you ever assert in your Review that Catholics in the United States owed (owe) temporal allegiance to the Pope of Rome?" I answer, *Never*. I owe obedience to the pope only as the spiritual head of my church, and I assert for him as such only a spiritual authority. Nevertheless, I have maintained and maintain that this spiritual authority extends to the morality of temporal things, that is, to temporal things, in so far, and only so far, as they are spiritually related or have a spiritual character; that is, so far as to have the right to pronounce for the Catholic conscience, whether they do or do not conform to the law of God; for the pope as head of the church is the interpreter and judge for Catholics of the divine law, natural or revealed. To explain myself. The people of this country had on their gaining their independence the right to adopt such a form or constitution of government, not repugnant to natural justice or the law of God, as seemed to them good; this constitution, when adopted, is obligatory upon me as a Catholic citizen, and not being repugnant to the divine law, is as obligatory on the pope in his relations with us as upon me. Then every law made in

conformity to it is obligatory on my conscience, and consequently on the conscience of the pope; for what binds the conscience of the simple believer binds alike the conscience of bishop and of pope. The pope has recognized the American constitution as compatible with the law of God. Suppose the supreme court decides the fugitive-slave law to be constitutional, then I am bound in conscience to obey that law, and the pope cannot dispense me from my obligation to obey. Suppose, however, the constitution or a law passed under it should command me to be an idolater, a Mormon, a Mahometan, or a Presbyterian, the pope would have the right to forbid me to obey it, and to declare the law, and the constitution in so far as it authorizes such a law, null and void for the Catholic conscience, because repugnant to the law of God. But in either case, you will perceive, gentlemen, that I assert no civil or temporal jurisdiction for the supreme pontiff, for I extend his authority only to the decision of the spiritual question involved in the temporal.

You ask, finally, if I believe or have asserted in my Review that the principles contained in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Chandler are not the principles of the Catholic Church? This question will be best answered by the first article in my last Review * a copy of which I send you. I have never asserted and do not maintain that Mr. Chandler's principles are incompatible with Catholic faith; I only maintain that in the sense in which the public will understand him and in which not unlikely he understands himself, he sets forth, not Catholic doctrine, but the opinion of some Catholics,

* The Temporal Power of the Pope, Works, vol. xi, p. 137.

which as a Catholic he *may* hold, but is not obliged to hold. I regard his speech as evasive, and as not meeting the question fairly and frankly. The real question is not whether the pope claims civil or temporal jurisdiction over Catholics in the United States, for that cannot be pretended; but whether the spiritual authority of the pope is incompatible with the freedom and independence of the state in its own order. Conceding that when the temporal and the spiritual come in conflict, the temporal, not the spiritual must give way, or when religion and politics come in conflict, politics, not religion, must yield, I say, and say fearlessly, that it is not, and all Catholics without exception agree that it is not. Every Catholic does and must maintain the freedom and independence of the secular authority in its own order.

Thus, gentlemen, I have endeavored to answer your questions frankly and without evasion or reserve, because I am bound to declare my faith when it is necessary, and I have no opinion which I wish to conceal or to explain away. I know that the charges brought both against my church and even against myself are false. I am an American by birth and education, and I yield to no man in my love of my country or in my loyalty as a citizen. I know that my religion is favorable to liberty, and commands me to be loyal to American republicanism. Personally, I belong to and support the same political party that you do. But I claim the divine, the natural, and the civil right to be a member of the Catholic Church, to worship God by believing what she teaches, and doing what she commands. This right may be denied me. I may be

persecuted unto death for daring to exercise it, but I shall never surrender it. I recognize your undoubted right as American citizens to be Protestants, and I demand of you to recognize equally my right as an American citizen to be a Catholic, uncensured and unquestioned. This right is the basis of all true freedom, and he is no true American, no true man, who will not, if need be, die in its defence.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

O. A. BROWNSON.

It would almost seem as though some of our illustrious prelates were more sensitive to the attacks of the Know-Nothings upon their native country than to those upon their religion. Mr. J. Mudd, of Cincinnati, wrote Brownson :

"A short time since I addressed you a letter expressive of my own feelings as also of those of my brother-in-law, J. W. Piatt, Esq., in relation to your article on Naturalization and Native-Americanism. I find no difference of opinion on these topics among our Native-American Catholics, whether clerical or lay; and there will be none.

"Our friends of the *Catholic Telegraph* and *Advocate* have gained themselves no great credit in their attempt to crush your Review and to suppress the circulation among us of the *Boston Pilot*, which, said the editors of the *Telegraph and Advocate*, will sink as sure as the Royal George if it sustains the views of Brownson. Since the going forth of that edict, the *Pilot* has found no resting-place in the book-store of Walsh, from which have been industriously

circulated among the Irish Catholics of Cincinnati the paper with wrong name, the '*Irish-American*,' and the still more diabolical sheet of Mitchel, Meagher, & Co., which has constantly abused the Catholic hierarchy, and proceeded so far in its impiety as to speak of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Wisdom of God, as a convict."

Even the holy Bishop of Pittsburgh felt his charity grow cold towards his former friend, and late opponent, as appears from a letter of Hecker's.

J. M. J. A.

MY DEAR FRIEND :—On Thursday last I left Pittsburgh with Bishop O'Connor for Cincinnati. On the way we talked on several topics, among others when we arrived at Cincinnati was that of Development. You know that B. O'C. was at Rome at the declaration of the dogma of the I. Concep. of our B. Lady. He told me that at the assembly of the bishops he made some objection to certain words or statements in the Bull as it was read to them on account of its seeming to countenance that view of development which he considered false. This drew out Perrone, who made a speech of a half hour's length defining what he considered the true and false doctrine on this point. Bishop O'C. took notes of P.'s speech and has them at home. Some of the Italian prelates wondered what B. C. was driving at, when Dr. Grant of Southwark rose and said some words about Dr. Newman, and they saw then. The words in the Bull were changed.

Bishop O'Connor says there is a capital statement of the true doctrine of development in the Bull, but as we could not find the document, he was not able to point it out. The Latin Bull and not its translation

must be read to find it. He said also that Perrone held precisely the same doctrine as he did on this point. And B. O'C. expressed his satisfaction of your course in regard to that controversy. He also told me that he thought of sending you a note on this subject, but I think he feels too sore about his recent discussion with you to do it, though I urged him to write. The last number of your Review he considered as one of your best.

But there is another reason for my writing this note. It is this. The Irish prelates and priests have become mighty tender on the point of nationality. Your dose on Native-Americanism has operated on them, and operated powerfully, and especially at the west. They felt sore, and let me add also weak from its effects. You gave an additional dose in another form in your article on the Questions of the Soul. Perhaps if you knew that the first dose had not ceased operating you would not have administered another so soon. The truth is, I fear, that there may before long come a collision on this point in our church. The American element is increasing steadily in numerical strength, and will in due time predominate; and at the present moment on account of the state of the public mind, has great moral weight, and this in itself must excite unpleasant feelings on the other side. Is it not the better part of wisdom at the present moment, for us to abide our time, and say no more than we can help? I think what you have said is doing its work, and will effect it, and perhaps without further effort. I would not have you modify a word that you have written, but my wish has been to give you a hint of the state of feeling

existing on this subject, having the opportunity of seeing pretty extensively the prelates and priests of the church, and all sides. It was generally rumored that you would make an onslaught on Chandler in this number, and nothing of the kind being found in it, gave general satisfaction.

You cannot imagine with what delight I have heard different persons speak of the gratification they found in your last number, detecting something, they knew not what, in its tone that pleased them. I feel quite assured that you have adopted the right course, and caught the right spirit, to accomplish a vast deal of good to our people in the church as well as out.

I enclose also a sort of program of another book if you think well of it. Let me have a line from you if it meets your approval.

Yours affectionately in the S. hearts of Jesus and Mary.

I. TH. HECKER.

Address VERY REV. T. BUTLER,
Lexington, Ky.

April 16.

The dissatisfaction among the Irish in America, on account of the articles just referred to, was by no means so general as might be inferred from what has been said of a certain class of them. Many of the clergy of Irish birth or parentage spoke boldly and strongly in their defence, as well as numbers of laymen, who knew that that the picture was faithfully drawn. One of the plainest-spoken of these wrote as follows:

FORT WINNEBAGO, Wis., July 29th, '54.

O. A. BROWNSON Esq.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed are \$10—for two years

subscription for myself (M. R. Keegan), and one year each for Rev. J. D. Roche and Charles H. Moore, Portage City, Wis. The three can be sent in one package, marked "Portage City, Wis."

I have been a regular subscriber for the Review since it has become Catholic, and often felt how deeply I was in your debt for the firmness with which I was able to speak on subjects, on which without your Review I would be totally in the dark, if not in downright error. I will only here mention two cases,— Invincible Ignorance and free-soilism. And yet I learned my meaning of "invincible ignorance" from what were considered good Catholic authorities, who had turned it into a Catholic panacea for quieting Protestant consciences in their errors. I sat down a strong free-soiler to read your article on the Higher Law, and ended by raising my hands and heart in prayer to God to bless and protect you long for the good of religion. Indeed I did not get half through when I felt my cheeks burning that I should have been so wofully misled.

But the tenor of your article on Nativism and the manners and habits of Irish Catholics in America is what causes me to trouble you with this scroll. I am forty-five years old, twenty of which I have been in this country; have mixed largely and seen much of the character of my countrymen, and I have always seen with regret that the great body of Irish Catholics were led by the nose by such as the *Boston Pilot* calls "Kawtholicks," composed of Masons, Oddfellows, and office-hunting demagogues. This class of persons have on public matters in this country taken the place

occupied by the priests in Ireland, so far as the Irish are concerned; and the natural result of Nativism and Know-Nothingism is what any reasonable man would look for. If this were exclusively a Catholic country, and were the Irish to pursue the like clannish course, the feeling then would be as bitter against them as it is now, for I have known native Catholics, good and practical, where I resided in Pennsylvania, as bitterly opposed to letting Irishmen vote, until they could go as men and not as sheep to the polls, as any Protestant bigot I ever met. But what is to be done? The Irish are so accustomed to have leaders that they know not how to do without them. And how will you get rid of the Kawtholicks? for after all, these are the real enemies, and the cause of nearly all the mischief.

The other great evil is the common-school system, which in this state is going to be overwhelming, and around which all the bigotted, infidel, radical, and popularity-seeking are gathering with a frantic energy that leaves little or no hope for justice to be heard or listened to for a single moment.

With one of the questions, dear sir, you have grappled, and while many of those whom you are benefiting will revile and denounce you, every good and patriotic Catholic, of whatever country he be, will pray to God for your success and personal happiness.

I am, my dear sir, yours truly and respectfully.

M. R. KEEGAN.

The *Propagateur Catholique*, of New Orleans, edited by the Rev. N. J. Perché, having joined in the onslaught on Brownson's Review, the Abbé Adrien Rouquette, author of *La Thébaide en Amérique*, and

other works, expressed his dissent from that journal as follows:

MANDEVILLE, ST. TAMMANY, LA., 7 Fév., 1855.

MR. O. A. BROWNSON.

MON CHER MONSIEUR:—Je ne puis pas résister plus longtemps au désir de vous écrire, pour vous témoigner ma haute estime, ma vive sympathie et mon entière adhésion aux doctrines que vous avez émises dans votre Revue. Depuis quelques mois, j'ai été, si non étonné, du moins indigné du ton de la presse catholique et des attaques dirigées contre vous. C'est le sort inévitable et glorieux de tout écrivain qui ose dire la vérité abstraction faite des susceptibilités individuelles ou nationales. Votre article sur le "Nativisme Américain" était nécessaire; je n'y trouve pas une syllabe à blâmer; la publication de cet article a été un acte de grand courage. Je sais, Monsieur, que mon opinion est peu de chose; mais vous me pardonnerez de vous l'exprimer au milieu des circonstances douloureuses où votre âme se trouve, quelque fortement trempe qu'elle soit. Je crois accomplir un devoir; je n'ai pu résister à l'impulsion de mon cœur. Je tiens aussi à vous dire, dans la crainte que vous puissiez penser le contraire, que je n'ai jamais eu aucune part à la rédaction du "Propagateur Catholique," j'en désaprouve *l'esprit* et la *forme*, en beaucoup de choses. Ainsi, donc, sachez bien que je suis entièrement étranger à ce journal.

Croyez, mon cher Monsieur, que je ne vous oublie pas dans mes prières, et veuillez recevoir de nouveau

l'expression de ma haute considération et de ma profonde sympathie.

Votre très-humble serviteur.

A. ROUQUETTE.

P. S.—Je vous ai envoyé par la poste les "Saintes Voies de la Croix," par Marie Bourdon. Ce volume contient, selon moi, *toute la science des saints.*

CHAPTER XVII.

BROWNSON DEFENDS AGAINST KNOW-NOTHINGS HIS
RIGHT TO BE A CATHOLIC, AND AGAINST CATHOLICS
HIS RIGHT TO BE AN AMERICAN.

THAT there was some ambiguity in his language in the article on Native-Americans, Brownson himself admitted; though he insisted it was not such as to conceal his real meaning from any careful reader, who ought to have been able to distinguish what he expressed as his own opinion of foreigners from what he said was the opinion of Americans generally. In a letter to Judge Hilton of Cincinnati, dated Boston, July 26, 1854, he wrote:

"I have been surprised, I confess, at the manner in which my article on Nativism has been understood, and at the whirlwind of wrath it has raised up against me. I have reexamined my motives in writing it; I have re-read the article itself in the light of newspaper comments on it, to see if I had by some blunder said what I did not mean; but without finding anything, even on their own avowed principles, to justify the wrath of its opposers, or to give me even a clew to

their misunderstanding of it. Either they or I and those who understand my article as I do are laboring under a gross delusion. Either I cannot understand the plain natural sense of my own language or they do not; which is the mad and which the sane party, I shall not undertake to decide, for I might be outvoted, as was poor Tom of Bedlam.

"Pray tell me, my dear friend, what it is I have done? I must have done something horrible, or surely there could not be raised such a furious outcry against me. 'Why,' it is said, 'you have shown your sympathy with the Know-Nothings, and the Native-American party.' That is false. I have done no such thing, and every one who will read my article with his eyes half open will see to the contrary. If they say this, there is no reasoning with men who ascribe to you the contrary of what you yourself say. I have condemned that party in no measured terms; but I have endeavored to show what in the foreign-born population enables it to appeal with some effect to American national feeling. I have denounced that party as anti-American, and led on chiefly by non-Catholic foreigners. But it makes an appeal to American national feeling. If we, who oppose it, outrage, in opposing, this national feeling, or without showing that we have a respect for this feeling, we strengthen that mischievous party by giving it the support of American nationality. To attempt to wrest from that party its only important support, was not assuredly to show my sympathy with it.

"'But you have attacked the whole foreign population, especially the Irish Catholics?' There is not a

word of truth in this. ‘You have tried to bring the Irish into contempt, and have contended that they must give up their own nationality and be absorbed in the Anglo-American nationality.’ I have said no such thing. ‘You have boasted the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and have placed them above all others.’ False, false, and as false as anything can well be. ‘You have introduced into the Catholic family in this country, hitherto so quiet, the quarrel of races.’ False again, I have done no such thing, for not one word have I written to prove that I as a Catholic prefer one race to another.

“How such charges as these can be founded on my article on Native-Americanism is what I am utterly unable to comprehend. I wrote my article in my quality as an American natural-born citizen, looking at the state of my country as it is, and the dangers which threaten it, and especially with reference to the hostility that had been excited between native Americans and the foreign-born population, whether naturalized or simply resident. My main purpose was to explain the causes which had produced this hostility, to censure on either hand where I thought censure due, and to offer such advice to either party as I thought judicious and opportune. In reading over last evening my article I perceive that I possibly may not have been in all cases careful to distinguish in describing what the country generally exacts of foreigners and what I myself contend it has a right to exact, and what it regards as an offence in them and what I myself so regard; but I think still that a candid reader would have found me sufficiently clear,

and would not have laid to my account what I give as the views of my non-Catholic countrymen. The only excuse I can find for those who bring these charges is perhaps in one or two passages some little obscurity on this point. I sometimes speak simply in the name of my countrymen generally, and simply describe their views and feelings, and sometimes in my own; and I suppose the impugners of the article overlook this fact. They take all I say in the name of non-Catholic Americans as what I mean to maintain as my view, and then take what is really given in that article as my own views and feelings, either as so much soft soap for Catholic foreigners meaning nothing, or as specimens of my facility in self-contradiction. There was no need of this; and a candid reader, even if the matter had been obscurely expressed, would have given me the benefit of the more favorable construction.

"The question of Native-Americanism is one which I have to treat both as a Catholic and as a natural-born American citizen. When I treat it as a Catholic, I have the susceptibilities of the great body of my countrymen to manage; and when I treat it as a natural-born American citizen, I have the susceptibilities of the great body of my Catholic brethren to manage. Of course, the question for me is a delicate one, and yet no one but one like me can properly treat it under both relations. I felt this, but as my attachment to my Catholic brethren was well known to be sincere and ardent, and as my Americanism was beyond question, I thought I might discuss the question freely, and with some profit to both sides. But it seems that I was mistaken so far as my Catholic friends have been

concerned, and the Americanism on which I relied to gain me a hearing and some credit with my non-Catholic countrymen, especially those,—and there are many such,—who love their country more than they hate popery, has been construed by the larger portion of the Catholic press into an attack on the nationality of foreign-born Catholics. There is in this not only uncharitableness, but very great folly; for it tends to confirm the impression I have labored to remove, namely, that Catholicity is un-American, and cannot be nationalized without a destruction of American nationality.

“I believe that there is an American nationality, and that this nationality is and will be determined, not indeed without modification from other sources, by those I call Anglo-Americans. I do not say that this is a good or evil; I do not say whether I regard this nationality as better or worse than others; I merely state that it will be ours, and that it is impossible to make it otherwise. As a fact, I contend that this American nationality has a wonderful absorbing power, and gradually assimilates to itself all foreign nationalities that meet it on our soil, and thus tends to mould the whole population of the country of whatever race or country born into one homogeneous people. This I insist on as a fact, not as that which ought or ought not to be, but as a fact important to be known and considered by all immigrants. I do not say they ought to lose their nationality, but I say they must and will. They cannot help it, if they would. Therefore, the sooner they acquiesce in it the more prudent, for the American nationality is intolerant, and respects

nothing opposed to itself. Here are no principles laid down, but a simple statement of facts.

"Suppose these facts to be as I state, it is clear that any attempt to resist the American nationality, any conduct likely to offend it, expressions calculated to wound the national sensibility, or any efforts to prolong their own nationality beyond the period it would remain in the natural course of things, together with a conduct regulated by reference to foreign interests instead of American, would be highly imprudent on the part of the foreign-born population, and would not only be useless, but tend to excite hostile feelings, and perhaps hostile acts, against them. Now this is what I have said to the foreign population, and have specified the principal particulars in which I think they have failed, and have conducted imprudently, that is, imprudently for themselves. In this specification of particulars, I have stated facts, or I have not. If I have, why blame me? If I have not, why not calmly point out my errors, without getting into a passion with me?"

The Germans made little or no complaint against Brownson's doctrines at this or any other time in his life. The only one who expressed to him his dissatisfaction was the Austrian Jesuit Weninger, who thought the Reviewer was advocating the theory of Kossuth, and feared he would prove another La Mennais. The following is his letter, written about the last of August, 1854.

In Ch^o colendissime atque charissime Domine!
Legi articulum in præclaro opere tuo "Quarterly Review," et non possum tibi nou communicare magnam animi afflictionem quam exinde concepi.—Perlegi,

credas mihi, eadem *ipsa* hora, qua ab amico mihi novus hic tractatus porrigebatur, illum, quem anno 1845 aliquando rectissime scripsisti, et vix oculis meis fidere poteram,—Obstupui quomodo fieri poterat, ut mens tua tam perspicax, et cor tam ingenuum post novem annorum circulum in novam plane et miserandam erroris sphæram agi potuerat. Nunquam profecto animo tuo inesse suspicabar, tam humilem terrestrem plane et ut ita dicam Kossuthianum Patriotismum, quem cum tanta injuria civium tuorum Catholicorum publice manifestare non dubitasti. Dixi nunquam id suspicabar; potius legendo in ephemeridibus te controversiæ esse implicatum propter illum articulum, et viso responso tno, quo declaras te male fuisse intellectum, credidi verbis tuis, tibique condolebam. At perlegendi ipsum tractatum tuum, vidi te omnino Patriotismo in sensu supradicto esse affectum, qui minime Catholicus dici potest, imo prorsus acatholicus et mere mundanus est, teque prorsus indignus.—

Hoc ut tibi paucis probem in memoriam tibi revoco solemne et præclarissimum effatum S. Basillii M. in suo ad minas Valentis responso, qui ei exilium ex patria minabatur; atque ita S. Doctor et fidei Confessor. “Quid? Tu mihi exilium minaris; numquid ignoras latam terram esse meam, et me illam quam tu dicis esse patriam meam, nou dicere esse meam?—Audiendo hæc Imperator exclamabat: nunquam sic homo mihi locutus est. Cui Basilius: Forsitan nunquam cum Episcopo locutus es. Sic ferme quantum memoria teneo. Doctor ille, quibus tam præclare exprimit sensu, quo pectus christianum replent respectu sensus Patriotismi, videlicet: Christiano, filio Dei in terris,

tota terra patria et simul exilium est—totum genus humanum una *natio*,—Profecto, sic jam Psalles clamabat : “*terram dedit filiis hominum*”;—et quoties hic aliquie Prophetæ pronunciabant futurum esse ut, gentilium, qui una quasi *natio* considerabantur, et judæorum ex altera parte separatio per Christum aliquando finem sit habitura, totumque genus humanum in unam quasi nationem familiamque sit conflandum, cuius Patriotismus futurus sit—sensus cœlestis absque nationum distinctione. Ita Prophetæ considerabant statum generis humani in terris, juxta consilium Divinæ Providentiae ordinandum, quantum ex ipsa est, tanquam ektypon cœlestis Prototypon, nempe Jerusalem civitatis sempiternæ absque nationum discrimine. Ideo Apostolus Gentium S. Paulus Patriarcham Abraham non tantum patrem fidei, sed patrem *nationum* appellat, nempe per Christum, per quem paries solvenda sit, et soluta fuit, qua gens judaica, qua *natio* separata fuit ab aliis nationibus, totumque genus humanum sit quasi gens et *natio* una, ‘ubi non est Judæus nec Græcus, nec liber, non servus, sed omnes sint semen Abrahæ hæres promissionum.’ Ita in Ep. ad Rom., Ephes. et Galatas,—Novi equidem has promissiones proxime pertinere ad statum filiorum Dei, in regno Dei, quæ est Ecclesia; at huic statui respondeat quoque oportet status externus generis humani juxta spiritum fidei, ut populi diversi sint tamen *natio* et familia una, cuius parens et Pater in terris sit Christi vicarius, et Judex supremus, ut tu ipse tam præclare, erudite et recte observasti, in tua doctrina de Romani Pontificis suprema inter Christianos auctoritate. De hoc sublimi Christiano-catholico

patriotismo, quem aliquando in tuo tractatu "On Native-Americanism" ipse defendebas præclare, nunc lamentabili ratione in lutum communis hominum mundanorum affectus delapsus es, ita ut ore tuo te ipsum judices per ea quæ olim scripsisti. Applico tibi tua ipsius verba: "This is (no) Americanism (but true Catholic patriotism of mankind). It is this which has been our boast, which has constituted our church's true glory. It is this which we have inherited from our fathers; which we hold as a sacred trust, and must preserve in all its purity, strength and activity, if we would not prove 'degenerate sons of noble sires'; and it is this which (your article on Native-Americanism, so-called, now) opposes, and because it opposes this, no true Catholic can support it, even no true American!" Sane, neque Catholicus neque homo, qua homo, potest admittere doctrinam, quæ hominem fratrem hominis et filium Dei, eo quod non sit super eadem gleba terræ natus, vel ex determinata *stirpe*, excludit a societatis humanæ juribus, cui qua homo jungi jus habet *naturale*, quod jus naturæ fundamentum est juris gentium; non vero e contra. Socrates et Plato id probe intellectere et Cicero ipse, quamvis gentiles. Hæc observatio directe retundit nova tua asserta, non in principiis juris gentium, sed in inordinato patriotismo fundata, quem ut semi-ethnicum et semi-judaicum merito rejicimus. Modus insuper quo tu advenas cives velis tractari, induceret novum genus *servitutis*, et recte cives tales appellarem "white slaves," essent enim rem accurate examinando (quod tibi alias tam consuetum est) toti positi in arbitrio dominorum a quibus *gubernantur*, in quo recte caracter

essentialis servitutis cernitur. Habeo itaque contra te, quod cum legitima tua priori cogitandi ratione etiam primam tuam charitatem reliquisti. Ipse tractatus hic recens tam acerba amicis tuis oggerit in facie inimicorum, ut ipsa charitas te jam magis attentum reddere debuerat, priusquam in facie totius regionis *tibimetipsi contradicere* consultum duceret.—Cœterum non tam error singularis mihi adeo displicuit in te, homines enim sumus, quam animi tui comparatio, quam in hoc tractatu manifestas, et eo magis ingrate me affecerat, quia mihi semper eras longe charissimus. Admirabar in te haud minus intellectus præstantissimam aciem, quam cordis nobilitatem et animi roborem. Scripsisti semper in ordine philosophico et theologico tanta cum securitate, ut nullum tibi parem in laicis unquam legerim neverimque. Gaudebam tantopere Dominum suscitasse in hac terræ parte tam strenuum catholicæ veritatis athletam. Et ecce lego nunc a te hæc verba scripta: “After God, our first and truest love has always been, and we trust always will be, for our *country*.” Itane? ergo revera magis amas post Deum, Patriam.—Magis quam Deiparam, magis quam cœlum et angelos, magis quam Ecclesiam, quam concives cœlestes, magis quam animas Christo sanguine redemptas, magis quam homines—confratres. Sic revera animo constitutus es? Dolerem. Dicam quid senserim legendo hunc tuum tractatum novum. Recordabar epistolæ Rev. Abbatis Geramb reducis ex Palæstina, quando de lapsu lamentabili infelicis “de la Mennais” audiebat, in qua epistola sic ad eum scribit: “Non credidi quæ in ephemeridibus legi, sed legendo ipsa tua recentiora scripta totus exhorui

audiendo quasi penes me super terram alarum strepitum, de cœlo delapsi cherubim."—Absit, avertatque Deus te hac via abiturum. Nec timendum tale quid post datam nobilem et humilitatis sensu refertam declarationem tuam. Quod autem abiturus sis ex patria mihi videtur quasi permissio Dei, ut si fiat, *exul* a Patria doleas, quæ erronee in favorem Pseudopatriotismi scripsisti.—Miraberis me litteras ad te dare, clarissime Domine, utpote qui tibi quasi ignotus sum, vidi te tantum semel in collegio S. Ludovici; at cum prius *diu* in theologicis et philosophicis disciplinis versabar in Europa, conscientiæ mihi duxi ut, quæ in hac controversia sentiam tibi candide communicem. Scripsi ea in itinere *currente calamo*, qui qua Missionarius inde a sex annis omnes congregations germanicas et gallicanas ininterrupta serie in statibus occidentalibus percurro; parcas, quæso defectibus dictionis,—parcas libertati qua usus sum. Solus—soli scripsi. Tuus in Ch^o sincerus amicus.

F. X. WENINGER,
Doctor SS. Theologiæ S. J.

Brownson wrote in answer to Weninger:

BOSTON, Sept. 5, 1854.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter postmarked September the first, and sincerely thank you for it. Your severity, I trust, I take in the spirit you desire, although I do not think that I deserve it. I am deeply pained to find myself so misapprehended. It is against *nationalism* that my recent article was intended, not in its favor. I agree with you almost entirely in your doctrine, and am not a little surprised to find it set forth as opposed to mine.

All I contend is that under Catholicity certain national distinctions do and will obtain, and within certain limits the preference for one's own country, as for one's own family, is permissible and to be respected. In America, on American soil, the American nationality is the nationality, if any, that has the right to predominate. My object in writing was not to defend the American nationality against Catholicity, but to caution my foreign-born Catholic friends against opposing their foreign nationality to it. My Irish Catholic friends by obtruding their Irish nationality have aroused the hostility of the American nationality. This is the mischief. As against their nationality, I say American nationality is in the right; but as against Catholicity, no nationality can be in the right.

The contradiction between my article on Native-Americanism in 1845, and the article you censure, does not exist to my understanding. I am simply in the two articles treating the same subject from different points of view, and with different purposes. In my article in 1845 I wished to defend the foreign-born population against Native-Americanism: in my article for last July my main purpose was to admonish the same population not to offer it any gratuitous offence. The question now is not the same as it was in 1845, for it is since then that the immigration has become so large, and that so large a portion of it has been non-Catholic, I might very well refuse to defend in 1854 what I was quite willing to defend in 1844, yet I hold fast to every principle laid down in my article in 1845, and am not conscious of being less Catholic now than then.

I say, "after God, our first and truest love has always been and, we trust, always will be, for our country." I say this in order to show our foreign-born friends that their foreign patriotism cannot be exhibited here without coming in contact with the American, and to assure my non-Catholic countrymen that I do not, in becoming a Catholic, lose any thing of my patriotism, in so far as patriotism is lawful. But allow me to say that I am astonished at the interpretation which you put upon this assertion. I never meant, and the language warrants no such meaning as you suppose. The expression "after God," in my understanding of it includes after my religion, its objects, its principles, and its precepts, our first and truest love is given to our country, that is, of things pertaining to the temporal order, our country has the first place in our affections. I do not think you can find any heresy in this.

Indeed, Reverend Sir, has not the foreigner rather, ^{them} the theologian dictated your letter to me? May you not have failed to put yourself in my position, and to consider what it was necessary and proper for me to say in order to prevent my non-Catholic countrymen from drawing from my words a false inference with regard to Catholicity?

I may have fallen, as you suppose, and fallen as La Mennais fell, for no man knoweth whether he deserve love or hatred. I own I have lost some of my first fervor with regard to a portion of the American Catholic body. They have so misrepresented and denounced me, and are so ready to seize every opportunity to blacken my character, that I do not feel that lively confidence in them that I did. They have

wronged me, and brought all manner of contradictory objections against me, and I am only a poor, frail, mortal man. But if I know my own heart, I have lost nothing of my Catholicity. I love the church more and more every day. I know that he who stands should take heed lest he fall, and I never feel that I may not fall, but I have no wish to fall. The church is my mother. I have no one else, and I take it for granted that the abuse I am receiving is given me as a trial of my virtue. I pray God that I may make a right use of it. I have no resource but in him, for man—it seems has deserted me.

Forgive me, Rev. Sir, for writing you in English, as I am unable to write in any other language, and believe me your most obedient servant in Christ.

O. A. BROWNSON.

Brownson wrote this letter, but it bears no mark of having ever been folded. The reason why he did not send it was very possibly his not knowing where Weninger was to be reached, as the good Jesuit's letter no more told *where* than *when* he wrote. The next letter gives the time when it was written, but the place is a little indefinite. It runs thus:

P. Ch. Clarissime atque in Ch^o. colendissime
Domine!

Nescio utrum litteræ ad Te, colendissime Domine, pervenerint, in quibus meum de tuo relate ad cives advenas prolatum judicium acerbe satis improbabam.— Inde ab illo tempore novis illustrationibus, bis genuinum sensum principiorum relate ad quæstionem agitatam clarius exposuisti, et gaudeo. Sic enim re dilucidata nihil prorsus invenio quod censuram

mereatur, sed omnia apparent non tantum sana, sed etiam saluberima, et valde prudenter suggesta. Unum quod dolendum, hoc est: tuum de hac delicata quæstione judicium non statim ab initio tam dilucide et caute fuisse prolatum. Utique post tot data a Te, doctissime Domine, documenta doctrinæ sanæ et animi imperterriti, securius loqui potuisti, memor S. Augustini effati ratusque Te a catholicis confratribus non aliter quam Catholice intelligi; interim Divina Providentia ad majus Tuum meritum per humiliationis lavacrum consilia aliter direxit.—Nisi enim Dominus ita ordinasset ipsa illa prudentia quæ Te ad scriberendum Articulum compulsit, indicare debuisset periculum malæ interpretationis, nisi cautissime et planissime expositus in lucem prodires.

Miraberis utique quid *me* in specie impulserit, ut Tibi, colendissime Domine, hac de re scribebam, qui Tibi ignotus, etiam nulla apud Te existimatione valeo? Paucis dicam: plurimum Te in Domino colebam et amabam, itaque perægre ferebam, ut a Te aliquid minus castigate dicatur.—

Non puto me in calicem tribulationis, quam Tibi Dominus porrexit, guttam amaritudinis immiscuisse, propter defectum anctoritatis; interim, quia nescio quo modo ad Tibi meum judicium communicandum tunc inductus fui; officii mei esse censeo, ut et hoc per novos duos articulos correctum judicium Tibi, colendissime Domine, communicem.

Ne dubites me ad Aram pro Te Tuaque familia Sacrum et Sacrosanctum Sacrificium Missæ oblaturum, ut Te Cum Tuis charis longe conservet ad augenda merita tua, et ad bonum sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ in hac

terræ parte, omnibusque gratiis Te cumulatissime donet, ut aliquando ut fortis Athleta Christi promeritam coronam victoriae felix obtineas.

Commendo me Tuæ piæ memoriæ, me meaque opera in Ministerio sacro precibus Tuis commendando.

Totus Tuus, Colendissime Domine, in Ch^o Amicus.

F. X. WENINGER, TH. D.

In Statu Indiana,

31 Januarii, 1855.

Among the editors of Catholic papers in the United States there was probably no one for whom Brownson had more respect and liking than the Reverend Dr. Corcoran, of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, published at Charleston, S. C. He and Dr. Lynch were the editors until about the time of Bishop Reynolds's death at the beginning of 1855, after which I think Lynch was administrator until his appointment as bishop. Whether he or Corcoran was the author of the articles against Brownson in their journal, I know not, but think it very likely to have been Corcoran, because Brownson expostulated with him in reference thereto. In his letter to Corcoran he says the very fact he is a free frank-spoken man should teach him that he is not a splenetic man, or one that can harbor hard feelings long against anybody. Indeed, nothing could be truer. If Brownson had any anger against any one he never nursed it, but said what he wanted to say, and "having got rid of his bile," as his expression was, he was at once in the best of humors. In concluding his letter to Corcoran he said:

"I think the Irish a little touchy, and I think it very bad policy for them, in a country like ours, to

be always throwing their nationality in our faces if we happen not be Irish ourselves. I think they are as much bound to respect my American nationality as I am to respect theirs. I do not like their claiming the right in their organs to run down all nationalities but their own, and then cry out as if a great wrong were done them, if the calumniated nationalities remind them gently that they who live in glass houses, etc. It is impossible for you to conceive how offensive in this respect they are to the American convert, who is discarded by his own countrymen because a Catholic, and distrusted and abused by his Catholic friends, if he deems it his duty to retain his American sympathies and not make himself a foreigner in the land of his birth. Born of Irish parents and brought up as a Catholic in the bosom of Irish Catholic society, you have no conception of the exactions made, or how outrageous is their conduct towards us who have no especial bond of sympathy with them but Catholicity, nor the effect of their Irishism on our children. These things, which are wrong, and which I find no Irish prelate or priest rebuking, but all of them rather encouraging, do, I confess, occasionally grieve me. They may insult my nationality as much as they please, but if I do but open my lips to give utterance to the Catholic doctrine of the unity of the race, then I am accused of stirring up national animosities and disturbing the peace of Catholics. Why rebuke me? I was not the one to intrude my nationality. Why seek to suppress my Review, and sustain the journals that cause all the mischief? Why make me suffer for the faults of Irish Catholic editors and spouters?

" You will think these remarks but ill sustain my

assertion that I have no spleen against the Irish, and yet what I say is true. I do not like the Irish as editors, as politicians, or as critics; but I do like them as men, as friends, as companions, associates, as Catholics. In all the private relations of life, I love them, and taken as a people, I know no people that I could place before them, or that I could place so high. They have done with scanty means an immense deal for religion in this country, and the hope of the church in this country is under God chiefly in them and their children. I need not tell you these are my honest sentiments, for you will not suspect me of writing to you what I do not honestly feel. But with all this the Irish have their faults, and precisely the faults the most offensive to Americans. They are not greater than ours, they are not so great even, but they are different, for the most part faults from which we are free, and all men are most offended by faults of a different kind from their own. I do not like their habit of crying out against a man who happens to displease them, of vituperating instead of reasoning. But I have much worse things to put up with in my own countrymen, and whether you believe me or not, I like the Irish and French far better than I do the English and Germans, although I prefer the political order which is represented by England, and which I call the Germanic order, better than I do the Romanic, which prevails in most Catholic states.

"In reading my Review, it will always be well to bear in mind that I sometimes deal in grave pleasantry, in good-natured raillery, which some, many indeed, take to be bitter sarcasm. I am not aware of a single

sentence in the whole series that has been written in anger, in bitterness, or a sarcastic spirit. But enough. I have opened my heart to you, because I am anxious to have your good opinion, and to retain your friendship, and because I know your paper has done me injustice, and I believe unintentionally. Forgive me the freedom and frankness with which I have written, and believe me very truly your obedient servant,

"O. A. BROWNSON."

"REV. JAMES CORCORAN, D. D."

In a letter to the Archbishop of New York, Brownson explains that it is foreign to his purpose in publishing a Catholic Review in the United States, to go beyond the defence of American institutions and Catholic interests. The defence of these he has never shirked, but he does not feel called upon to defend or apologize for the national prejudices of foreigners, their likes and dislikes, and make common cause with them in every dispute they may have with his own countrymen, even though his own countrymen are in the right. "In so far as they are Catholics," he writes, "and in so far as their natural or acquired rights are concerned, it is my duty to defend them to the utmost of my power; but in so far as they are foreigners, and insist on remaining foreigners, they have no claim upon me or any other American Catholic.

"I have provoked no controversy with foreign-born Catholics, I have no unkind or unchristian feelings towards them, and the attacks they have made upon me were wholly unjustified by anything I had ever said or done. The things I did for which I have been so

abused were done in their defence, to defend the whole Catholic body from the attacks of the Know-Nothings, and if I had not been stormed against, I should have succeeded. In regard to foreign-born Catholics I regard myself as the injured party.

"One thing I look upon as certain, that it will never do to have it understood that Catholics are here an un-American body, with interests, affections, and duties diverse from those of the great body of the American people. It will not do to have it understood that the American who becomes a Catholic, must suppress his own nationality, and act as a foreigner, or forfeit the support of his Catholic brethren. On this conviction I have acted, and I have rebuked conduct not in accordance with it when it has come under my observation. I cannot see that in this I have done wrong.

"This much, however, I will cheerfully promise your Grace, that if foreign-born Catholics will cease obtruding their foreignism on me and my countrymen, I will cease writing anything that obtrudes mine on them. I cannot understand why they are to have liberty to speak and I am to be bound to silence. If they abuse the American people, write against the Yankees, and seek alliances with Canadians against my own countrymen,* I know no law of the church that requires me to be silent, far less to join with them. As far as I can judge, a portion of the Irish Catholic body have pursued a course exceedingly offensive to the American people, and peculiarly painful to Catholics of American birth and lineage, and yet I am not aware

* This was done by the editor of "The American Celt."

that except from American Catholics have they received a word of admonition or rebuke in public. We American Catholics are in a small minority, if you will, but we have feelings, and we do not see why our feelings are not as sacred as those of Irishmen, why they should here in America be free to agitate for Ireland and defend Irishmen and Irish interests, and we not free to defend America and Americans, and American interests. I have been denounced from more than one altar, if I am rightly informed, for barely alluding to some of the faults of Irishmen. Has an Irish editor been denounced for abusing Yankees? Why this difference? Why liberty on one side, and slavery on the other? But if your Grace will silence the attacks of your countrymen on mine, I will cease to attack yours."

However disheartened some of his friends became in the Know-Nothing controversy, the latter part of a letter to Roddan, editor of the *Pilot*, shows that, Brownson, behind the clouds which then obscured the heavens, caught glimpses of a bright sun and clear blue sky.

"Is it proposed," he asks Roddan, "to sacrifice me in order to appease the Know-Nothing wrath? If my sacrifice would do that, I should offer no objection, but it is not likely that it would have any such effect. There is, I suppose, no Catholic in the country who does not perfectly well understand that the Know-Nothing attacks upon me have for their express object to induce Catholics to distrust or disown me. Have we any Catholics silly enough to be caught in the Know-Nothing trap?

The pretence that I, by my articles on the papal

power, have been the chief cause of the present excitement against us is all moonshine, and for Catholics to allow themselves to be affected by it is quite absurd. Had I never written those articles, nay, had I never lived, the same, perhaps, a more furious excitement would have raged against us. One lesson some of us seem not yet to have learned, that of standing by our friends, especially when they are assailed with more than ordinary fury by our enemies.

"But much must be pardoned to men's fears, and who is not prepared to be denounced by friend as well as foe is not prepared to do knight's service in the cause of Catholicity. I have experienced only what every man experiences who seeks to follow truth rather than public opinion, and after all it is glorious to suffer in a good cause.

"The storm now raging against us will soon subside, the sun will break through the clouds, the sea will be hushed, and men will smile to think that they ever mistook me for a Jonah. You, sir, know very well how false are the notions which a few persons who seem to have nothing better to do, try to induce the Catholic public to entertain of me. But all will be cleared up at last, and each will receive according to his merits."

Early in the year 1855, whether of his own accord or yielding to the representations of others, the Archbishop of Baltimore requested Brownson to discontinue the publication, on the cover of the Review, of the letter written by him and signed by the Bishops of the Council held in Baltimore in 1847.

BALTIMORE, 12 February, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—So much use is made of our endorsement of your Review by our enemies, that I think it advisable for you to state distinctly in your next number that it was not intended or employed as a sanction of every opinion or view, which you had advanced even at the time, much less of those which you might at any time afterwards advance.

Your zeal and ability were commended, and still deserve commendation, but as we do not desire to abridge your liberty in matters not defined by the church, so we cannot be fairly held accountable for the expression of your sentiments. Some explanation seems required at the present time since your essays on the temporal power are brought forward to prove that we profess principles at variance with our civil duties. By dropping the endorsement you will be more at liberty to state your views, without rendering us responsible, and I trust you will lose nothing, as your Review is able to stand on its own merits. You know too well my personal attachment to ascribe this letter to any unfriendly feeling.

Your faithful friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,
Archb'p Balt.

ORESTES BROWNSON, Esq.

As the first number of his Review for 1855 had been already published with the bishops' letter on the back, it seemed best to Brownson to continue in the same way to the end of the year. To this suggestion Kenrick replied:

BALTIMORE, 24 Feb., 1855.

DEAR SIR :—I should be sorry to urge you to any measure likely to prove prejudicial to the interests of your Review, or to counsel you to do anything without the advice of the bishop, not as a superior or director, so much as a friend and earnest well-wisher. Your own prudence will dictate the best course to be adopted to meet the effort which is made to convert our letter of encouragement into an approval of every sentiment or view which you may express. I earnestly desire that your Review may be supported, as I am fully convinced of your zeal in supporting the cause of truth. I leave, then, the matter entirely in your own hands, and renew the expression of my unfeigned regard.

Your constant friend,

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A. B.

O. A. BROWNSON, ESQ.

To the Review for April, Brownson appended the following note :

" * * * We notice with pain a disposition among our Know-Nothing writers to hold the bishops, whose names are on the cover of our Review, responsible for whatever sentiment or doctrine is found in its pages. This is wrong. The bishops have kindly encouraged the publication of our Review, having confidence in our loyal intentions, and believing it, upon the whole, useful to the cause of truth ; but they *indorse* no sentiment or doctrine we advance. The whole responsibility rests upon the editor alone, and no bishop is responsible for anything that appears in our pages, and every one is just as free to controvert or condemn anything in our pages as he would be were his name not on the

cover. We beg our opponents to bear this in mind, and to remember that our Review does not, in any sense whatever, speak by authority of the American hierarchy, and has no other indorser than its lay editor, who is free to write and publish, simply holding himself responsible to the proper authorities, what he pleases. The merit or the blame, if either, in all cases belongs to him, and the public cannot justly hold anybody else in any respect responsible. We commend this especially to the notice of Professor McClintock and Dr. Edward Beecher."

Brownson's intention of dropping the bishops' letter from the cover of his Review, was formed at this time, as he notified to Cummings.

CHELSEA, Ash Wednesday, 1855. [Feb. 21.]

REV. AND DEAR DOCTOR:—You were good enough to say that you would get me up a lecture in New York, if I would write you. I should have availed myself of your kind promise sooner, had I not understood that it would be better to wait till Dr. Manahan had closed his course. I should like to have you get me up one as soon you can conveniently, for to tell you the truth I am a little in want of the proceeds to enable me to launch my son William with his brother John at Milwaukee.

I leave you to fix the time, only I wish it to be early in March, for the last of March I expect to start for New Orleans. My friend George Hecker, will take upon him any of the labor you may assign him.

I am much obliged to you for the kindness you showed to my son, and for all the good will you have always shown to me and mine.

At present, my Review is doing as well as ever. The Native discussion has not hurt it; but how it will be affected by the papal question I cannot say. I learn that I am to be sacrificed as a peace offering to the politicians. But perhaps it will not be so bad as I fear. I shall be obliged, only do not mention it, to leave off the name of the archbishops and bishops, and to publish the Review solely on my own responsibility, so as to save the hierarchy from the charge of endorsing me. Whether this will ruin me or not remains to be seen. It is hinted from a high quarter that I had better do this, and do it of my own accord. I shall do so without communicating with a single bishop. It seems it is necessary for the peace of the church that I should make way for the Chandlers to defend Catholicity on Gallican principles.

Be so good as to inform me as soon as you can of the time you fix upon for the lecture, and believe me,
yours most truly,

O. A. BROWNSON.

Before Brownson could carry out his intention of dropping the bishops' letter after the current year, he received the following letter from the Bishop of Pittsburgh:

DEAR SIR:—I am sorry that a sense of duty compels me to request you to withdraw my name from the letter printed on your cover containing a certain approbation of your Review. I do not think that that letter made any of your signers fairly responsible for anything you wrote, and hence though I occasionally found doctrines advanced from which I widely differed, I did not feel called upon to record my disapprobation

or to withdraw my name. But since you have adopted as a leading principle of the Review a theory which I believe to be in itself untrue and the advocacy of which I consider likely to do much mischief, especially if it were considered to be encouraged by any number of the bishops of the country, I feel myself called upon to withdraw any connection with the publication that would seem to imply any kind of approbation.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

† M. O'CONNOR, B'p Pittsb.

Pittsburg, Sept. 4, 1855.

O. A. BROWNSON, ESQ.

In reply Brownson wrote :

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR :—I regret that you have judged it necessary to make the request, but of course it will be complied with.

It has from last May been my intention to leave out altogether the letter with the signatures at the commencement of the new volume. Had I followed my own judgment, that letter would never have appeared in my Review, but I was assured that it was intended to be inserted. I felt that it would cause me some embarrassment and involve me in some trouble. I did not like to leave it out after a volume had commenced, and when such an outcry was raised, because I was sure for myself that to do so would be impolitic. But with the next volume it will be quietly omitted, and the Review henceforth be published on my sole responsibility, so as to compromise nobody but myself. Most likely I shall remove from Boston and publish my Review in another city, as the approval of my own bishop does not appear to be any protection to me in

the minds of his Episcopal brethren. I shall not publish without the *permission* of my Diocesan, for I am a Catholic,—but shall endeavor to let the Review stand on its own merits, so that any bishop or any Catholic can say, "O! that is one of Brownson's ultraisms, nobody is responsible for what he says."

The Bishop of Pittsburgh will permit me to say that I feel that in his articles against me he has treated me neither generously nor fairly. I do not hold, never have held, and never have set forth or defended the doctrine he persists in laying to my charge, if I may be the judge of my own language and meaning. I think he was bound to give me the benefit of my own explanations and qualifications. I think I have received hard treatment at his hands, and that he has excited an uncalled for prejudice against me. He denounced me, held me up to execration, instead of discussing the question with me. Even he does not accuse me of heterodoxy, and must admit that I have the right to hold even the opinion he ascribed to me, for it has never been condemned, which is more than can be said of some of the opinions which he opposed to me. He opposed to me, if I understand him, opinions, or an opinion, condemned by John XXII. and Pius VI. If I understand him he denies the right of the pope to visit the political acts of a secular prince with ecclesiastical censures, which I think is not sustainable.

I think I had a right to hold the doctrine I set forth. It might have been imprudent to publish it. Some three or four bishops have told me that they thought it was, and some dozen or more have told me that they thought differently, that it was not. I myself be-

lieved it prudent, and still believe so, and furthermore I think but for your articles against me that no great outcry would have been raised against us on account of its publication. I know something of the American people, and I am confident that you will never make them believe that my doctrine on the subject is not the true Catholic doctrine. All the bishops in the universe may disclaim it, and they will still believe it. You may silence me, but you will gain no credit with them, and only lose a portion of their respect, both for yourselves and for Catholicity.

Permit me to say that the clamor raised against us does not frighten me, and that the best way to disarm it is to show that we do not fear it. I think there has been some lack of firmness on our part. This is, indeed, the opinion of a layman, but a layman even may sometimes have a sound opinion.

I intended not to reply to your first article, as I told you, but on arriving home I found an order requiring me to do it. I intended to close with my indirect reply to your second article, and should have said no more, if the other side had remained silent. Indeed, I have done nothing since but offer some explanations of my doctrine. I have defended it only against non-Catholics, and I do not see how you can say that I am making it a principal feature in my Review. I have an article in my next number on the Temporal Power of the pope, in reply to Dr. McClintock, but I am not defending it against Catholics who differ from me. I do not think you will object to it. Of course, I do not abandon my doctrine. You must either convince my reason that it is wrong, or

bring me a judgment from Rome condemning it, before I can do that. I have a profound respect for your judgment, but you cannot expect me to take it as the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff, who is your judge as well as mine.

I have written frankly, perhaps too frankly, but be assured that in my own heart not disrespectfully. I have expressed my grievances, but for your many acts of paternal kindness, and your frequent forbearance towards me, be assured I am deeply grateful, and shall be as long as I live. I owe you much, and I would that I were able to pay you much. But after all, my position is a difficult one, and I, too, have had some things to hear from those whom I counted on to sustain me. I am denounced by the whole non-Catholic world, and there is hardly a Catholic voice raised publicly in my defence. The disposition of many Catholics appears to be to recognize as little solidarity with me as possible. These are not pleasant things. But God knows what is best; I will not murmur. Forgive what is wrong in my letter, and believe me truly your obedient servant in Xt.

O. A. BROWNSON.

RT. REV. M. O'CONNOR,

BISHOP OF PITTSBURGH.

The Archbishop of Baltimore endeavored to set right those who, following the Bishop of Pittsburgh, persisted in misunderstanding and misrepresenting Brownson's doctrine. In his "Vindication of the Catholic Church" * he says: "Mr. Brownson, with his usual independence, has ventured to seek the solution of the

* Baltimore, 1855, p. 225.

problems presented by the middle ages, in a principle which was put forward by St. Gregory VII, and by the great defender of the indirect power, Bellarmine. He relies on the natural subordination of the temporal to the spiritual. As far as the middle ages are concerned, I conceive that this is satisfactory, because, in fact, that principle was then admitted and applied, and thus it necessarily entered into the compact between sovereigns and their subjects." And on page 227, Kenrick says: "Most assuredly I dissent from him, if he claims for the pope any right to interfere with our civil allegiance . . . However strong may be the language sometimes employed by Mr. Brownson, I am convinced he does not mean any such thing." Of course not, in so far as it is only civil. He claimed for the pope no civil or temporal authority or jurisdiction out of the states of the church, but he did claim for him plenary spiritual authority to govern Catholics in all things that pertain to salvation. He also believed and taught that a principle based on the natural relation of things is a truth not only in the Middle Ages, and in parts of Europe, but for all ages and all parts of the world, and declared that he would not, because a clamor was raised against him just then, abate one jot or tittle of the power he had heretofore asserted for the spiritual power. It is when and where truth is most strenuously opposed that he believed it a duty most strenuously to insist on it.

Huntington, the editor of the *Metropolitan* at the time of O'Connor's attacks on Brownson, changed in 1855 from that magazine to a Catholic weekly in St. Louis called "The Leader." He had formed his notion

of Brownson's doctrine of the supremacy of the spiritual order from the Bishop of Pittsburgh's misrepresentations, and when he read in Brownson's Review the article on the Temporal Power of the pope, and in the daily press the answer to the Maryland gentlemen, he liked these well enough, but thought them inconsistent with the doctrines condemned by O'Connor in the Review. Though still sore over former criticisms of his novels, the author of *Alban* strove to be fair: and was so much more so than nearly all the other Catholic editors, that Brownson complimented him for being so, but adds:

" You accuse me of changing my doctrine, and of falling into gross inconsistencies and absurdities. I claim, sir, the right to be my own interpreter, and I think it no more than reasonable that you should distrust your own understanding of my doctrine rather than mine, for I am rather more likely to know my own meaning than you are. I have not abandoned any ground on the papal power that I have ever assumed, and the doctrine of the Letter is precisely the doctrine of the Review. As for the inconsistencies and absurdities you refer to, they are perhaps full as likely to exist in my critic's brain as in my own.

" I do not very well understand your criticisms, and am at a loss to know whether in your estimation my fault is in being too Gallican or too Ultramontane; but as far as I can grasp your meaning, you consider that I am inconsistent and absurd in maintaining that the authority of the pope is necessary to release my conscience from the religious bond, after the civil bond is broken by the tyranny of the prince, since it is on the existence of the civil bond that the religious bond

is founded. But, my dear sir, do you maintain that the pope has authority to absolve me from my oath of fidelity to a prince who has not forfeited his right by abuse of his powers? Do you as a Catholic maintain that I individually or the people collectively have a right to say when a religious obligation ceases to bind in conscience? Suppose, according to the law of God, the tyranny of the prince forfeits his right, do you maintain that I or the people have the right to resist before the fact of forfeiture having been incurred has been judicially declared?

"The doctrine I hold is that for Catholics, I say nothing of others, what is called civil allegiance is a religious duty, but a duty which ceases with regard to this or that prince when he becomes a tyrant; but before I can avail myself or enter into possession of the right to resist, the forfeiture of the prince must be judicially declared by the spiritual authority. I say spiritual authority, because it is a matter which touches conscience. For me as a Catholic this authority is and must be the pope.

"But the pope, I maintain, in exercising this authority, does not trench on the rights of the civil power, or exercise any civil or temporal authority. In order to show this I distinguish between allegiance to the prince or state as a purely civil bond, and the same allegiance as a religious bond. Do you deny the validity of this distinction? If so, do you deny it in favor of the civil or in favor of the religious character? If the former, you deny it to bind in conscience, and make its obligation merely that of a *lex pœnalis*, and you may rebel when you please without risk to your

salvation. This is the doctrine of our modern revolutionists. If the latter, you absorb the civil in the religious and allow the state no autonomy. But you cannot say this, because the judicial authority of the supreme pontiff does not release the subject from the civil penalty of resistance even to a prince who has forfeited his rights. The absolution is in the spiritual and not in the temporal order, and if the prince proves powerful enough, the subject will have to suffer the civil consequences of his resistance. This shows that a subject may be absolved in conscience and rendered religiously free to resist the tyrant, and yet not be civilly free, which proves that the distinction in allegiance between the religious and civil obligation is not wholly imaginary. I have never claimed for the pope any authority beyond that of absolving the subject from the religious obligation, or 'sanction,' as the illustrious Archbishop of Baltimore terms it, in case the prince becomes a tyrant.

" You seem to accuse me of absurdity for the supposition that the judicial declaration of the supreme pontiff is necessary to loose the religious after the prince by his tyranny has loosed the civil bond. I do not suppose even you will contend that he could do it before; for the prince must forfeit his rights before the pope can declare his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Every lawyer will remind you of a principle which you seem to overlook, that forfeiture does not put even him in whose favor it is, into possession till legally declared. Even supposing the forfeiture to be declared civilly, you, I trust, are too good a Catholic to suppose that looses any spiritual

bond. The civil forfeiture is a fact for the spiritual court, and is no doubt to be regarded as the basis of its judgment, but till the judgment of the spiritual court is rendered it is no fact for private conscience. The spiritual court by its sentence must declare you free in conscience, before you can enter upon your rights against the tyrant.

"I do not understand your remark about an unbelieving prince. The obligation of the subject to a non-Catholic prince, not bound by the constitution of the state to be a Catholic, is precisely what it would be in the same circumstances to a Catholic prince.

"Permit me to submit these remarks to your calm consideration. I think you have been hasty in some of your judgments upon me, and that you have shown very little generosity, not to say justice, in joining with Know-Nothings in attacking me for holding doctrines which your own journal promulgates. When the passions and fears of the moment have subsided, they who hoped to gain popularity by abusing me will most likely regret it."

Again, on receipt of a letter from Huntington, Brownson wrote :

BOSTON, Aug. 25th, 1855.

J. V. HUNTINGTON, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your very kind letter, but I deeply regret to learn that you were obliged to write in bed. I knew you had been unwell, but I thought you had recovered. I hope you will soon find yourself in health, and that our good God will long spare you to us.

Your reason for occasionally attacking me in your

columns is frankly stated. I can understand it, but it would not serve my purpose. I can, I think, if need be, die for the truth, but I cannot deny it, or attack my friend for defending it, however fierce may be the popular cry against him. When we find our friends doing what we ourselves are doing and wish to have done, the more honorable course is, it seems to me, to back them, not to turn against them because they happen to be unpopular. Your explanation is what I expected, only you appear to do from friendship what I supposed no man would do except from personal hostility.

You say you praise me in banter, because otherwise you would not praise me at all. It may be so; but your bantering praise happens to be less useful to me, and more offensive, than no praise at all. I am not so greedy of praise as to be pleased with it even in banter. If a man wishes to speak well of me, and judges it imprudent to say what he feels except in jest, I would rather he should not speak of me at all.

I find no fault with a journal for disagreeing with me, and expressing in as clear and as distinct and as decided tones as it can its disagreement. I am not thin-skinned on that point, but I think my age and my well-known honest intentions should secure me in my Catholic opponents that courtesy due from one gentleman to another. I am and always have been, and always shall be unpopular, and the usual practice is for those that differ with me to refute me with squibs and sneers. Catholic editors have adopted towards me a manner which they would adopt towards no other man in my position. Personally I care nothing for this,

but it diminishes my influence, and takes from me my ability to serve the cause which we ought all to have at heart. Differ from me as much as you please; oppose me when you think I am wrong; but do it fairly and honestly, without discourtesy, without seeking by quibbles, quirks, and verbal subtleties to render me odious or contemptible to the Catholic public. I have never attacked my man personally in my Review, when the personal attack was not necessary, at least in my judgment, necessary, to the vindication of some public cause. I have never written a word in malice, from personal pique, or to gratify a personal resentment, and I never will knowingly or consciously. I will never publicly redress my private wrongs except a public cause seems to me to demand it.

I have been most grossly misunderstood, misinterpreted, and even abused, where I had the right to expect better things. None of you seem to be at all aware of my real position or of my actual character. You yourself mistake them almost entirely. You are a man who have and always have had a social position. I have never had one. I have lived all my life alone, and I have not any personal influence, and consequently I am less able to bear the loss of public character than many persons far less known. But a hint is enough. It has been no light task to sustain my Review for eleven or twelve years single-handed against the tide of personal unpopularity.

I regret to learn by your letter that no notice was taken of the "Pretty Plate."* I wrote a very favorable notice of it, which I supposed till receiving

* A very beautiful little story by Huntington.

your letter had been inserted. It must have been crowded out, and forgotten. The same thing, I recollect now, occurred with a book of Mr. Shea. I am willing to be Mr. Shea's friend, but he will never be mine. I can make no advances to him, for I regard myself as the aggrieved party. But I assure you that nothing in the past or the future will affect my notices of any works that may fall under my criticism.

"J. V. H." in the *Truth-Teller* I know spoke ironically, but as he did what in jest he said he would,* I supposed it was no more than fair to treat him as if he spoke in earnest. I supposed his only object was to do me what injury he could, and supposed myself perfectly justified in doing what I did to defeat his purpose.

Dr. O'Connor, in the *Metropolitan*, misrepresented me, and treated me with great unfairness, as I considered; and fear of giving scandal prevented me from exposing his misrepresentations and his errors, amounting in one instance to positive heresy, as it would have done. I replied in the way that I thought would best save my doctrine. The Archbishop of Baltimore and his brother of St. Louis, both assured me personally that they agreed with me. The Archbishop of New York, I am told, approved of my articles: they were approved by the Archbishop of Quebec, and by the Bishop of Boston, by Mr. Edward Purcell of Cincinnati to me personally in his own room. The Archbishop of Cincinnati assured me before they were written that I could not go too far in asserting the

* J. V. H. said that as other journals had got up a cry against the Review, it was a good time for him to join in and have his say, for he, too, had a bone to pick with it. *Ante*, p. 405.

papal power for him ; and some five or six other bishops have expressed their agreement with me.

The course which some Catholic prelates who approved my doctrine to myself personally, have taken, has not given me so high an opinion of their Catholic honor as of their policy. I have dared, at the risk of my reputation and means of subsistence, of all I hold dear except the truth and the approbation of Heaven, to bring out the only doctrine that can save society from ruin, and they who *agree* with me, misrepresent, banter, or denounce me, or remain silent. Is this what Catholic faith and honor demand ?

Thank God, I never yet truckled to public opinion, and I think I shall never oppose any man for doing what I wish done, whatever may be the popular outcry against him. The Catholic can die for the truth, but he cannot disown it or its friends. Forgive me, if I speak warmly ; for you must be aware that your reason for the attacks upon me by The Leader is the one of all others likely to arouse a high-minded and honorable man. It is not very soothing to be told : True, you have been and are doing what I wish done, and am myself doing ; but then, you are so unpopular that I cannot do it without casting you off, or joining in the popular cry against you. But do not take it ill, for I mean it not in hostility, but in friendship. Sir, I am ready to back my friend to the death. But enough of this.

I have never been able to discover any difference between you and myself on the nativist question, except that I am *not* opposed in my feelings to foreigners, and *not* proud of my New England ancestors. I want

precisely what you do, and I wish to bring as far as possible Catholic influence to bear on politics; but that influence must be Catholic, not foreign, because otherwise it will do harm instead of good. The whirlwind that is excited against us has been occasioned, not by the causes or persons your St. Louis friends imagine, but by a premature attempt to organize the Catholic and Irish influence. I could, if I were with you, tell you what has been done, and show you that the Know-Nothing movement is nothing but a punishment upon us for our imprudence. I foresaw and foretold it during the late presidential canvass. I have only been trying to recover the ground we have lost, but nobody except Know-Nothings seems to understand me.

I have not changed in the slightest degree my doctrine on the papal power. I never held the doctrine which Bishop O'Connor represents me as holding.

But enough of all this. I have unburdened my mind with the frankness and bluntness of my nature, and conclude by thanking you for the spirit in which you accept my advances. I assure you that you will ultimately find that I am a bear only skin-deep, or at least am a tame bear. I would gladly send you the article you ask for, but time and health will not permit.

Very truly and respectfully your friend,
O. A. BROWNSON.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW ORLEANS.—MOBILE.—CINCINNATI.—EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.—PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS.—CHANGE OF RESIDENCE FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK.

BROWNSON'S first visit to the Gulf States was in the spring of 1855. Like most New Englanders, he had a very inadequate notion of a great part of the country in his early life; but as his visits extended further to the west and the south, he began to believe that these sections differed very greatly from the eastern portion of the Union, and that it was not in all respects to the advantage of the latter. The difference is less now. The rule of "scallawags and carpet-baggers," backed by the United States forces, and the disfranchisement of all the men of education and influence, in the southern states, for years after the suppression of the "Great Rebellion," has well-nigh obliterated all that was distinctively superior in southern society. Yet there is enough left of that society, and it is strong enough, if our country ever recoils from the un-American course it is to-day following, and returns to the mission given it in the providential government of the universe, to restore what was best in that society before 1860, and to make it even better than it was then. At any rate, when Brownson visited Louisiana and Alabama; in 1855, he found much to admire, and most of all, that though men sought to increase their worldly possessions, there was less of the *auri sacra fames*, which is precipitating the modern

world into an idolatry as infamous and as universal as the pagan worship of devils prior to the coming of Christ.

The invitation to lecture in New Orleans came from the recently established Catholic Institute of that city, the corresponding secretary of which was Thomas J. Semmes, whose death is announced as I am writing this. In answer to Semmes's letter of Feb. 5, inquiring whether Brownson would consent to visit New Orleans and lecture there, and if so, when and on what terms, the latter proposed the terms, and gave as the time the early part of April, as he could not start until his April Review was published. Semmes replied :

NEW ORLEANS, Mar. 5th, '55.

DEAR SIR :—Your esteemed favor, dated Ash Wednesday, was received on 3d instant. Last night your terms were submitted to the Institute, and I am instructed to accept them. I accordingly telegraphed you this morning, stating that your terms were accepted. We were much pleased that you found it convenient to pay our city a visit, and think the circulation of your Journal will be increased in this city in consequence of the proposed course of lectures.

We have already had several lectures before the Institute, and I mention the subjects for fear that by accident you might select the same, or something germane to them. The subject of one was "The Immaculate Conception, considered with reference to its influence on Society;" of the second, "Harmony between Catholicity and Liberty;" of the third, "The Harmony between the religious and social obligations of Catholics."

As you are unacquainted with the New Orleans community, I hope you will excuse a few remarks concerning it. This city, tho' Catholic in name is in reality not so. The men among the native population are generally infidels, tho' the women are pious Catholics. The Catholics themselves are what may be termed liberals, and a vast number of them are Catholics in sentiment, tho' not, I am sorry to say, in practice. The fact is, there is a great laxity on the subject of religion among us. I give you these hints that you may know our people who are to constitute your audience. There is also a very large liberal Protestant population, entirely indifferent on the subject of religion. One lecture of a purely literary character therefore would be desirable.

We shall therefore expect you here on 11th of April unless otherwise advised, and shall make arrangements accordingly. You would oblige by informing me what the subjects of your lectures are, and on what day you leave Boston, so that as much publicity as possible may be given the proposed course of lectures.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOS. J. SEMMES,

Corresponding Secretary.

O. A. BROWNSON, ESQ., Boston.

From Pittsburg to New Orleans, Brownson went by the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and greatly enjoyed the idle days. Among the passengers on the boat with him were Mr. and Mrs Vincenzo Botta, on their wedding trip. Vincenzo was a nephew of Charles, the historian, and his wife was Anne Charlotte Lynch. Botta showed himself very shy of Brownson, which the Rev. Joseph

Finotti explained to Brownson after his return, by the assurance that he had met Botta as a priest in Italy. The lady, however, was as gushing as ever, especially in the admiration of the scenery, though she said to Brownson, "You must tell me when the scenery is beautiful, and I will do the admiring." A dozen years before, Miss Lynch had been the most extravagant of Brownson's admirers; but her sympathy was less excited by the little of Christianity he defended than by his unbelief in the rest of it. As Brownson advanced in belief, they came to be further and further apart, and when she wrote her "Handbook of Universal Literature," she made little or no mention of her former idol.

After his lectures in New Orleans, Brownson lectured in Mobile, and visited many places of interest in the vicinity of either city, and was entertained in the homes of some whose acquaintance he made at this time, and from conversation with whom he gained much valuable information regarding the habits, convictions, and sentiments of the people in that section, which he found useful in the changed relations between North and South a few years later.

Stopping at Cincinnati in his way home, he found the bishops of that province assembled for a synod, and was cordially received by them all. Even the Archbishop seemed friendly, and on his arrival sent him this conciliatory note of invitation :

CINCINNATI, 12th May, 1855.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR:—It will gratify the bishops of this province, including myself, very much to enjoy your company to-morrow after the solemn opening of the

Provincial Council at dinner. Engaged with us in the ministry of teaching the truths of faith in that sphere which Providence has allotted to you, we one and all acknowledge the purity of your intentions and the powers of your mind, even when honestly constrained to differ from you in some of your views. But "Hanc veniam petimus damusque vicissim," and it should never lead to an alienation of Catholic hearts.

Hoping to see you among us to-morrow, I remain very truly yours in our Lord,

† J. B. PURCELL,

Arbp Cin.

Brownson had also proposed to lecture in New York before going to New Orleans, but postponed his lecture in that city till his return, in consequence of the reasons given in a letter from Cummings :

NEW YORK, February 26th, 1855.

O. A. BROWNSON, Esq.,

MY DEAR SIR :—You will, I trust, excuse my delay of two or three days in replying to your letter. I remember perfectly well my promise to see to the getting up of a lecture for you in this holy city of New York, whenever you should drop me a line to say that you had time to come on and deliver it. But I told our young legal friend (who by the bye is a fine fellow, and will one day be governor of Wisconsin), that you ought to come on before the beginning of Lent, or after Easter. During Lent there are so many things going on in the churches, and so many lectures and sermons, instructions and addresses are in process of delivery by *us*, the eloquent pastors of New York city, that even our cherished old friend Dr. Brownson could not but

suffer if he lectured here, at least as far as his pocket is concerned. Now I, as your impresario, wish you to make as much as possible by your lecture. I spoke to Father Starrs, the vicar-general, on the subject, and he kindly said not only that he approved of our inviting you to come on, but that he would do all he could to assist anything got up for you, and that you deserved that all the clergy should do the same. I am pleased to be able to tell you almost the words he used, for he is always very cautious, and means every word he says. He added, however, he thought the season of Lent a bad time for you to come on, because he feared that we should make a poor show at your lecture for the reasons I have stated. Do you not think, then, that we had better wait until after Easter? Remember that you will always find me ready to act for you, even if it be in spring or summer. Write one line to me at any time you are disengaged and I shall start the affair at once.

I am very much pleased that you are going to lecture in New Orleans. You will find a set of people there who are Americans to the backbone, and although they are negligent in attending to their duties,* they are able to stand good, old-fashioned, high-toned principles. I think, too, and I know the locality pretty well, that you will find the press free from the bigotry of New England papers, and the mean, drivelling, sneering mediocrity of the venal dailies of New York. At all events, in the sunny south you will have no Paddy Lynches, and Teddy McGees, to snarl, and bite at the heels of your boots while you are walking abroad

* An expression often used by Catholic clergymen which means to receive the sacraments of penance and holy eucharist at least once a year.

with the air of a man that is not afraid to show himself in public. I write in this vein because I am under the impression (perhaps erroneously) that you have not lectured in the metropolis of the south before.

By the way, have you read the Encyclical letter on the Immaculate Conception? Have you paid attention to the statement that the church received the deposit of faith full and entire, in reference to which "nihil addit, nihil demit, nihil minuit"—and the other, that however a dogma may be illustrated and explained according to the mind of the Fathers, "nunquam crescit nisi in genere suo?" In other words, no dogma grows or develops that did not exist before, and however much it may thus grow and develop, it never "grows" another dogma? Where, pray, are our old friends the Developmentists now?

But I fear that I am annoying you with all this chat. I will therefore close my letter by wishing you every blessing and success in your mission of fighting error whether the weapon you use be the tongue or pen.

I remain, my dear Mr. Brownson, very truly your friend and servant.

J. W. CUMMINGS.

The correspondence with Montalembert, interrupted towards the end of 1852, by Brownson's failure to post the letter he had written in answer to the Count's of November 12th, was resumed by the latter two years later, when he wrote to Brownson :

PARIS, December 28th, 1854.

MY VERY DEAR SIR :—It is long, very long, since I have had the pleasure of seeing your hand-writing. Your last letter was dated July, 1851, and I have not

written to you since November or December, 1852, from Brussels. I had heard that you had accepted a professorship in the Catholic University of Dublin—and was in great hopes of seeing you either in France or in England. But I fear that I must give up this hope, and not expect to meet you till I pay a visit to America, which I have some thought of doing, one day or other, in order to breathe more freely than can at present be the case in continental Europe.

I now and then receive a number of your admirable Review—the last was for July, 1854. I cannot refrain from expressing to you my gratitude and my ardent sympathy for the opinions you have so eloquently expressed in your articles No. 1 and 4, *Uncle Jack and His Nephew*, and *Schools and Education*. On this latter subject, which has been my chief pre-occupation for twenty years of my life, you have dived deeper into *the real truth* than any other writer I have met with. But I must particularly thank you for your most excellent appreciation of the present situation of Church and State in France, p. 39.*

* "We believe that there are millions of good, sincere, devoted Catholics in France, much true, ardent, and enlightened piety amongst the French people, but we have not the least confidence in the religion of the French government, with its Gallican traditions. Under Louis Philippe, and especially under the Republic, the French Church spoke with a free, bold, earnest, and commanding voice. She was the admiration and glory of the Catholic world. She has been dumb since the *coup d'état*, or eloquent only in eulogies on her new master. At least, we hear her voice at this distance only when raised in glorification of France and her new Emperor. The three years of the Republic did more for the church in France than is likely to be done in half a century by the Empire. Better the persecution of a Diocletian than the courtly favors of a Constantius. The church in France prospers most when thrown back upon its own resources, and grows weak and helpless in proportion as nursed and petted by the secular government. The Emperor may be a sincere Catholic in his faith, and far be it from us to question it; but he has shown no quality that would induce us to rely on him as a Catholic chief. He is the last sovereign in Europe, in communion with the church, that we should rely on to make any sacrifice for religion, or to promote Catholic interests any further than he can make them subservient to his own secular ambition." Works, vol. xvi., p. 423.

It is quite a relief to find such fearless and sensible opinions expressed in the noble English language, which, to my utter astonishment and dismay, seems to me quite dishonored by the fulsome trash which *all* the English newspapers teem with, about what you term the *new-fangled Cæsarism* in which the fatal revolution of 1848 has resulted.

But you have hit the mark in what you say of England: in fact she is growing every day more estranged from her noble mediæval constitution and is advancing with rapid strides to a *huge centralized democracy*, which centralization must sooner or later settle down into unitarian despotism. The idea of an Imperial head to the bloated body of democratic centralization evidently no longer inspires her with fear and disgust, and so far from thinking with the poet that

Tua res agitur, peries cum proximus ardet.

English orators and journalists seem to envy the social and political state of France.

As for the religious state of this country, you may rest assured it is far from satisfactory, and that the *outward* progress of the church is more than counterbalanced by the formidable *reaction* which is gaining ground against her among the intellectual and superior classes. We are gradually losing all we had gained during the reign of Louis Philippe and the Republic. The cause of this reaction is two-fold: 1st, the *useless* and *worthless* adulation of *some* of our bishops, who, in the midst of universal silence, have made themselves so conspicuous by their oratorical displays in favor of the present *régime* of the Emperor, and even of the Empress, who may be doubtless a pious and good-

natured lady, but who has done nothing to deserve to be compared to St. Helen and St. Clotilde, as the Bishop of Amiens (Mgr. de Salinis) did not blush to do, *parlant à sa personne*, a few months ago. 2d. The systematic violence and insolence of the *Univers*, in its daily denunciation of every sort of rational freedom, not only in France, but throughout Europe and *America*, not only in political matters, but in every branch of intellectual development, not only in the present but in the past. As this paper is unfortunately patronized by the immense majority of the parochial clergy, by a certain number of bishops, and particularly at Rome, people are convinced that it represents the real opinion of the Catholic clergy and Catholic faithful in all those matters,—that we wish for nothing but despotism and darkness throughout the world, and that the cry for liberty and equal rights, which was the watchword of Catholicity in France, England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, from 1830 to 1852, was nothing but sheer hypocrisy.

In three most remarkable articles of the *Ami de la Religion* of this month, to which I refer you, the abbé Cognat has most freely signalled what he calls the *recrudescence de la presse irreligieuse*, but he has not dared to shew the real causes of this change for the worse.

The Emperor, whose superior qualities I have always recognized, and with whom I in vain attempted to conciliate my fellow-*burggraves*, when it was possible both to give him his due, and to keep him within bounds, the Emperor is, I believe, a sincere well-wisher to the church, but he knows little about her real

interests, and is exclusively devoted to his own. In this respect I cannot blame him, since the church herself, by her official organs, asks for nothing else but what she has got—protection. As for the liberties which she so ardently demanded during the constitutional *régime*, and which I attempted to obtain from him after his *coup d'état*, he will *never* grant them. His recent legislation on education has left but a shadow of the freedom which we had conquered in 1850; and this shadow itself is not respected, as you must have seen from the arbitrary *closing* and reopening of the Jesuits' college at St. Etienne last winter, in defiance of all the legal guaranties and precautions maintained even by his own decrees. Himself or his successors may deprive the church of all she now enjoys, without the slightest difficulty, and without the possibility of any resistance or complaint. In the meantime, the press, which is *gagged* in politics, has full liberty to be most ravenous and blasphemous in religious matters. The *Assemblée Nationale*, a fusionist paper, was *suppressed* for having inserted some most inoffensive articles in favor of Russia, *before* war was declared; and during the course of this summer an *avertissement*, i. e., a public and official threat of immediate suspension was fulminated against a country newspaper called *Le Journal de Louréac* (in the Côtes du Nord), because it has presumed to question the merits of some sort of MANURE (*engrais animal*), recommended to the peasants by the préfet! Such is the state of social and *civil* freedom in France. But en revanche the two *most widely circulated* papers in France, the *Siècle* and the *Presse*, teem with the most

abominable abuse of the whole fabric of Catholic truth and Catholic discipline, of miracles, pilgrimages, the Immaculate Conception, etc., etc. Not a word of rebuke is ever addressed them for such outrages against religion as would most likely, even under the reign of Louis Philippe, have sent their authors before a jury. The Emperor is perhaps acting judiciously, *à son point de vue*, in allowing this sort of impunity. He knows full well that a nation like the French will not and cannot endure *universal compression*; and while he keeps down every sort of *political agitation*, he thinks he must open the safety valve of anti-Catholic declamation, through which the stream of revolutionary fury is now rushing with fearful effects. But what is to be thought of the short-sightedness of those Catholics who imagine that such a system is far more beneficial than the noble and independent struggle with the enemies and oppressors of truth, in the name and under the banner of freedom and fair play? We are rapidly drifting to a state of things identically the same as that of the *ancien régime* before 1789, when people were sent to the Bastile if they ventured to attack the king's lacquey or the king's mistress, but when both popularity and impunity, were granted to those who, like Voltaire and his gang, cringed before men in power and contented themselves with profane and impious ribaldry.

At the same time, I must repeat that the gross and outrageous attacks of the *Univers* against the whole political and intellectual scheme of modern France, including even the *Académie française*, in its daily anathemas, has given to the anti-Catholic and democratical press a plea and pretext for their impious

outpourings. The clergy, delighted to see prefects and gendarmes at church, and intoxicated every morning by a draught of the *Univers*, imagine that they are living under a second Constantine—and the bulk of Catholic laymen and young people are getting into that system which you so justly term that of *hot-house plants* (p. 373*) and which in Spain, Portugal, and Italy has reduced Catholicity to the state we all know.

However, the *Correspondant*, and the *Ami de la Religion* do their best to maintain a small knot of prudent and independent Catholics, in the hope of better days. All the old champions of the Catholic cause, Mgr. *Dupanloup*, whose eloquent and feeling address to the French Academy on his reception you will have certainly read, M. de *Falloux*, MM. de *Riancey*, M. *Beugnot*, M. *Lenormant*, and above all Father *Lacordaire*, remain true to our old programme and repudiate the *Univers* as much as I do. We have made a great acquisition in the young Prince de Broglie (son of the Duke, the former minister), who is full of talent and zeal; his articles on the *Conclusions de l'Histoire de France* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of last January, and on *Rationalism and Traditionalism* in the last *Correspondant*, you will, I think, much like. I also recommend greatly Father *Gratry's* work *De la Connaissance de Dieu*. The Oratorians and the Dominicans are our great hope for the future.

I hope you will not be offended by the enclosed slip for the *Presse*, signed BELLEGARIQUE, although full of impertinent and mendacious statements, it shows your power even in the opinion of your adversaries, and

* Works, vol. x, p. 582.

must therefore prove satisfactory to yourself and your friends.

I am at present exclusively devoted to my historical studies on the *Monks of the West*, a fragment of which you will perhaps soon see in the *Revue* or the *Correspondant*.

I must confess that I am not of your opinion on the present war. I have always feared and hated Russian autocracy. I trust you will yourself feel tranquillized on the revolutionary danger of this war by the alliance of France with Austria. I am as partial as yourself to Austria, but am rather alarmed to see this empire also verging towards exaggerated centralization, which I look upon as the bane of every political and intellectual greatness.

Believe me ever your obliged and respectful servant,
LE CTE DE MONTALEMBERT.

If the venerable Bishop of Boston is returned to your city and is the same Dr. Fitzpatrick who so kindly visited me when sick in bed last year, pray remember me most respectfully to him.

Bishop Fitzpatrick left Boston in December, 1853, returning in the August following. He took with him a set of the volumes of the Review from the commencement, which by request of the Editor he laid in his name at the feet of the Holy Father, as a public token of his filial devotion and unreserved submission to the Apostolic See, and of his profound veneration of the person of the reigning Pontiff, as he said in the accompanying letter. The Pope's answer returned through the Bishop, was as follows:

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecte fili salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Litteras tuas VII. Kalendas Januarii proximi datas quibus plura opuscula a te exarata dono Nobis obtulisti ad Nos attulit venerabilis Frater Joannes Episcopus Bostoniensis. De tuis iisdem libris merita ipse cum laude Nobis coram locutus est; adeoque majorem in modum in iis quos eadem litteræ omni ex parte præseferunt tuæ erga Nos Sanctamque hanc Sedem filialis omnino devotionis, obsequii, ac pietatis sensibus lætati, et consolati sumus. Supplicibus votis, ac precibus Deum misericordiarum, ac Luminum Patrem obsecramus, ut illos, quos apud te perpetuos confidimus futuros, Cælesti præsidio suo foveat, ac tueatur. Ac tanti hujus boni auspicem, et grati tibi pro officio animi nostri pignus, adjungimus Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam tibi ipsi, dilecte fili, ac domi tuæ universæ effuso paterni cordis affectu amanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die 29 Aprilis Anni 1854, Pontificatus Nostri Anno VIII.

PIUS PP. IX.

The Holy Father also wished to confer a title of honor on the Reviewer; but was informed by Fitzpatrick that it would be repugnant to Brownson's republican character to accept it, and would be injurious to his usefulness of action. Fitzpatrick compromised by accepting the title of count for himself, though I never knew of his using it.

To Montalembert Brownson wrote on the 22nd of January, 1855: "I have this day received yours of the 28th ult. with the greatest pleasure, for I feared that you had forgotten me, or that I had done something to

offend you. You appear not to have received mine in answer to yours of the 12th of November, 1852, the last that I have had the honor of receiving from you."

As to the war in the East, and the English and French alliance Brownson took a somewhat different view from that of most French and English Catholics. In spite of the assertions of the belligerents, Brownson thought the pretence of maintaining the independence and integrity of Turkey as idle as that of protecting the Christians in the Danubian principalities. The war was really for the purpose of deciding whether Russia or France and England should control the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. If the war had been confined to a contest between Russia and Turkey, without involving other nations, he would have taken very little interest in the contest. His anxiety was for Austria, whose central position fitted her to be the great mediating power of Europe. He looked upon Austria as the pivot of the European system, and believed that if she were weakened in favor either of Russia or France, that system would be broken up, and Europe delivered over to despotism or anarchy. Resistance to the further advance of Russia was a leading feature of the policy he recommended to the Catholic statesmen of Europe in an article written before the *coup d'état* of the second of December, * for the reason that Russia was the principal representative of centralized royalism, or monarchical absolutism, just as the United States,—for Great Britain represents nothing, and must ally herself with us,—is the chief representative of demagogic despotism, or centralized democracy, that is to

* Works, vol. x, p. 384 et seq.

say, of radicalism. As Austria happened to occupy a central position in Europe, she was the fit mediator between the East and the West. It was not that he had any partiality for Austrians rather than for Frenchmen or Englishmen, or for the general policy of Austria for the previous hundred years; for had German unity been restored, he would have said Germany, not Austria, was naturally fitted to take the lead in resisting and repelling both Russian and demagogical centralism or despotism.* That Russia was a more formidable enemy of the church than was Turkey, he admitted; but not than Turkey would be under the tutelage of the British government, and administered by the British minister resident at Constantinople. In the East Catholic interests would be sacrificed by France to political interests, if we may judge by the past history of that country, which never favored the Jesuits and their missions among the North-American Indians except as a means of extending French influence with the Indian tribes, and sacrificed them to its political policy. The worst enemies of the Catholics in the East were, and are, the Protestant missionaries under the special protection of the British and American governments, whose policy it is to Protestantize the people, or what is nearly the same thing, render them indifferent to all religion, whether Christian or Mahometan. This is what they call *civilizing* them.

Moreover, the western powers seemed to Brownson

* At this moment it is reported in the foreign advices that France is following the wise course of withdrawing from the much talked-of alliance with Russia, and beginning to cling to Germany, an alliance with which is for the interests of each and of the whole world. Such an alliance would put a stop to the further advance of despotism under either of its forms.

to be without justifiable cause of war against Russia. The maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman empire was not, of itself, an object that Christian powers might lawfully undertake. The western powers, he said, were fighting Russia, "not to redress injuries received, but to prevent injuries which she has the power to do them on some future occasion, although she has shown no intention of doing them. They are acting on the principle of the Connecticut deacon, who called up his sons one Sunday morning and flogged them, not because they had broken the Sabbath, but because he foresaw that they might break it during the course of the day."

[From 1849, when he wrote his article on "An a priori Autobiography," to the end of his life, Brownson devoted much of his study to those fundamental principles of philosophy in regard to which he believed the opinions usually taught defective, if not erroneous and conducive to false views of society, politics, and religion.

Prior to 1849, Brownson had called himself an ontologist; but ontologism may be understood in several senses. First, there is the ontologism of those who make ens in genere the primitive intuition of the mind; but ens in generè does not exist, and can therefore be no object of intuition. Then there are those who make real and necessary being the primitive intuition. Of this class some logically deduce all things, whether they call them creatures or phenomena, from real and necessary being, and these are pantheists. Others, and Brownson had been one of them, introduce besides their first principle of philosophy, real and necessary being, empirical perception and reflection as the principle of

the notion of created existences. This view, however, he abandoned when he came to write his article on "An a priori Autobiography," and maintained that the object of the primitive intuition must be not only real and necessary being, but must include the creative act of being, and soon after, that it must include creatures, the effect of that act, adopting Giobert's formula for expressing the object of the primitive intuition, being creates existences. As philosophy cannot be said to have first principles unless these contain all that is in it; and as both creator and creatures as well as the creative act are intelligible and within the domain of philosophy, the first principles or the primitive intuition must include all three so far as intelligible. In his view the sensible is never the direct object of intuition; we have immediate intuition only of the intelligible, and apprehend the sensible only in the intelligible, or as illumined by the intelligible. Intelligible intuition is the basis of sensible apprehension,—the precise reverse of the teachings of the sensists. Sense is intellectual, and at bottom, on the side of the subject, is identical with intellect. We must never confound it with mere organic affection. We indeed see sensibles themselves, not simply their phantasms, or representations; but we do not see them in or by themselves, and our seeing them is an intellectual act, though an intellectual act not performed without the intervention of body.

That the soul apprehends itself, or rather that we apprehend ourselves, as soul and body, from the first moment of our existence, he did not pretend. In the primitive intuition we do not distinguish soul and body,

and our apprehension of ourselves is as existence. The distinction of soul and body is the work of reflection operating on intuition. However this may be, we are not obliged to suppose that the soul is united to a body already formed,—a supposition we are not at liberty to make; for the church has defined that the soul is *forma corporis*. It suffices to suppose the creation of the soul and the formation of the body to be simultaneous, which Brownson held to be the fact. The generation of the body, and the creation of the soul and its union with the body are all simultaneous and integral and inseparable parts of what he might call the total act of the production of a human being. From the first instant of conception we exist as soul and body. Hence the immaculate conception of our Lady becomes intelligible, which it would not be on the older physiology. If we suppose the prior generation of the body, and the subsequent union of the soul with it, we could not understand how she could have been without stain in the very *first* instant, and should be obliged to hold with the Thomists that she was immaculate only in the *second* instant. Suppose the simultaneousness of the generation of the body and the creation and union of the soul, and the difficulty vanishes. The body can be only *in potentia ad formam* prior to the creation of the soul, and as the soul cannot precede the body, the two must be simultaneous, and both begin at the same instant.

Discussing the question how we know sensible things, St. Thomas Aquinas, while maintaining that our knowledge of them is through the senses, explains his doctrine in the sense stated above, that the

intelligible intuition is the basis of sensible apprehension. He says: *In lumine intellectus agentis nobis est quodammodo omnis scientia originaliter indita, mediantibus universalibus conceptionibus, quæ statim lumine intellectus agentis cognoscuntur per quas sicut per universalia principia judicamus de aliis, et ea præcognoscimus in ipsis. Et secundum hoc illa opinio veritatem habet quæ ponit nos ea quæ addiscimus ante in notitia habuisse.**

The peripatetics were beset with great difficulties in being obliged to hold that there can be no reasoning without universals, and at the same time to maintain that all knowledge begins from sensation, and that only particulars are known through the senses, and universals are obtained from particulars by abstraction, that is, by reasoning. In "Schools of Philosophy"† Brownson shows how this vicious circle, which St. Thomas, in the passage just quoted, and in others similar, seems to escape by making universals intuitive, is the necessary consequence of placing the beginning or principle of cognition in the senses; and that this again arises from the defective logic of Aristotle, who denied the creation and asserted eternal matter, in which he placed the possibility of determinate things. To place the principle of existence in what is merely potential, and the principle of cognition in what is only *in potentia ad cognitionem*, as is sensation, is as absurd as it would be to place the principle of life and actuality in the body instead of the soul.

As man, however, is not a pure intelligence, is not

* Quæst. Disp., Qu. x. *De Mente*, Art. vi. *Respon., in fine.*

† Published in January, 1854. Works, vol. i., p. 276.

independent, intellectually considered, of the body while in it, he cannot take his premises immediately from intuition, but must take them from the sensible signs which signify them, and therefore from language, when the intelligible is the object of reflection. The intelligible intuition does not originate belief or profound its object to reflection; but merely evidences or confirms it when sensibly represented.

Intelligence, furthermore, is not possible without the intelligible; for there can be no knowledge where nothing is known. And as what is not cannot act, so what is not cannot be intelligible. The intelligible is therefore being; and real being too, since without the real, there can be no abstract or possible being. Being, again, is either necessary or contingent, that is uncreated or created. If the former, then God is; and if the latter, equally God is, because the contingent is or has its being only in the necessary, and is intelligible, or has its intelligibility only as it is or has its being, that is, in necessary being. In knowing the contingent, therefore, we know the necessary, which reason shows to be God.

This is the basis of his argument in his article on "The Existence of God," published in 1852,* which he confirms by proof, and also by extracts from St. Augustine showing that in all our intellectual operations, as their necessary condition, we have intuition of the unchangeable, the necessary, and the eternal. As the unchangeable, the necessary, and the eternal is God, the writer concludes that we have intuition of God. The conclusion that we have intuition of God appears to

* Works, vol. 1, p. 253.

some misleading ; for it is necessary to distinguish between intuition of that which is God, and intuition of God as God. Brownson's meaning was correct and unequivocal, for he added : " This intuition is like all intuitions, indistinct, indefinite, and we do not from it alone ever know or become able to affirm that its object is God. To know this it is necessary to reflect on the object of the intuition as represented to us in language." In later writings Brownson took pains to make the distinction, and to maintain, not intuition of God, but of that which reflection demonstrates to be God, or that the necessary and absolute ideas which affirm themselves to the mind in ideal intuition, objectively considered, are God.*

In " Schools of Philosophy " Brownson says that the intelligible and the sensible are presented simultaneously in one and the same intuition. From this expression it might be inferred that the primitive or ideal intuition presented the sensible, as sensible, to the mind ; but as has been said, he held that the sensible is never the object of that intuition, which is of the intelligible only, and that the sensible is apprehended in the intelligible, or as illumined by it. That the purely intelligible affirms itself to the mind in ideal intuition, is conceivable enough ; for that affirmation is on the part of the object. But how can the human mind have empirical intuition of the purely intelligible ?

* A writer in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1899, p. 196, confounding necessary and absolute ideas with the universals of the schoolmen, like genera and species, and abstract conceptions such as whiteness and roundness, asserts that the prohibition of the Congregation of the Holy Office to confound the latter with God requires him to maintain that the necessary, the eternal, the perfect, etc., must be really distinguished *a parte rei* from God, which would be pure polytheism, or the assertion of more than one necessary, more than one absolute, more than one infinite, eternal, and unchangeable.

Brownson maintained that we cannot take our premises immediately from ideal intuition, but must take them from the sensible signs—language—representing them, when the intelligible is the object of reflection. These two points he clearly asserted: first, that the purely intelligible presents itself in ideal intuition, and second, that reflection requires sensible signs. But besides the ideal intuition, which is the act of the object, and reflection, there is another operation, empirical intuition, which is our act. Can we have empirical intuition of the ideal without sensible representation? In a review, in April, 1855, of a work by Father Chastel, * he says he thinks it quite certain we can *think* without language; for words can present no meaning to one who has not yet thought, and has not already thought their meaning, and therefore language is requisite for reflection, or more properly for memory, but not for intuition or direct and immediate apprehension. Taking thought subjectively, as the product of subject and object, empirical intuition is the initiative, direct, apprehension or perception of the object actually and actively present to the subject, and concurring with it: and we must either admit that man can act as a pure intelligence, or else assert that the intelligible cannot be perceived by him without sensible signs of some sort, and the only sign of the intelligible that we know of is language. Brownson also says, in the same essay, that the mind often proceeds in contemplation and even in meditation without the use of language. It is not easy to reconcile these words with his doctrine,† that man is incapable of pure intellections, and never has intuition

* What Human Reason Can Do, Works, vol. I, p. 309. † Id., p. 312.

of the intelligible without intuition of the sensible, not indeed as its sign, but as its concomitant. To *seize* the purely intelligible and separate or distinguish it from the sensible would be possible only to a pure intelligence without a sensible sign representing the intelligible. This seizing, apprehending, or perceiving the intelligible is empirical intuition ; and therefore the empirical intuition of the intelligible by man requires language. This conclusion is in conformity with Brownson's later view, that we cannot think the intelligible without language, and all the thinking we do without language is of sensible things or those which have natural sensible signs.

Another philosophical essay by Brownson, which deserves a passing notice here, was his criticism of Hume's Philosophical Works, in his Review for October, 1855.* Hume proved satisfactorily that from experience we can obtain absolutely no cognition of the necessary connection between cause and effect, or of cause in the sense of power or productive energy; but only a cognition of uniform precedence and consequence. As all our cognitions, according to him, have their origin in our impressions, sentiments, and sensations, and all our reasonings concerning matters of fact rest upon the supposed necessary connection between cause and effect, it follows that those reasonings can have no scientific value, and we can assert no reality as the objective cause or condition of our impressions, sentiments, sensations, and therefore no objective reality, whatever.

The Reviewer shows that Hume's argument is

* The Problem of Causality, Works, vol. I, p. 381.

sound, by which he proves that experience can only supply the notion of antecedence and consequence; by no means the perception of cause and effect; but refutes Hume's other premise and his conclusion. From the fact that the notion of the necessary connection of cause and effect cannot be obtained from experience it does not follow that the notion is unfounded; but since we have it and have not obtained it by experience, it must be an *a priori* principle of intelligence; consequently Hume's assertion that all our knowledge is derived from our impressions, sensations, and sentiments cannot be accepted. Hume's argument proving the utter impossibility of deriving the idea of power from sensible experience shows the necessary and legitimate consequence of the sensist philosophy, and cannot be refuted by any one who holds that system.

St. Thomas and those who really follow him, begin with a sensible fact, and ascend by way of demonstration to the principle of things. Brownson makes intellectual life, but not philosophy, begin with the principle of things. The former start from the sensible element, and proceed to disengage, not to infer, from it the ideal or noetic element; and the latter follows the same process in order to show that his principle is really the principle of things. Brownson solves Hume's difficulty by showing that empirical synthetic judgments depend for their possibility on synthetic judgments *a priori*, that is, pure or ideal synthetic judgments, as maintained and proved by Kant. Such is the judgment, whatever happens must have a cause, and must precede all empirical judgments and render them possible. The origin of the

judgment of causality he proves to be in the intuition of the creative act affirmed to the noetic faculty in the act of creating it, and entering into every empirical judgment as its necessary, apodictic, and infallible element. This judgment of causality in the order of first causes is copied or imitated in the order of second causes, and so far as the judgment affirms that an event has had a cause, it repeats the primitive judgment, and is infallible; but so far as it assigns this or that particular cause for this or that particular event, it depends on experience, and may or may not be just.

This essay on "The Principle of Causality" marks an epoch in Brownson's philosophical life. Hitherto he had been advancing steadily to the doctrine which he now held, but with the truth he was trying to bring out was mingled some obscurity in his thought, and even some inaccuracy in his expression. Gioberti had aided him greatly in clearing up his views, and, for a time, he believed himself as much indebted to the great Italian as he had formerly thought he had been to Cousin or Leroux. But as he set forth his own views in later essays, he believed he was in Gioberti's debt for little, if anything, besides the formula by which he expressed all that is or exists, all that can be thought, in the ideal judgment.—Being creates existences.

Those that have criticised Brownson's philosophical writings unfavorably, have, as a general rule, objected to what he wrote prior to October, 1855. Those writings are of value both as indicating the mental course pursued by their author, and on account of innumerable criticisms of systems, sound arguments

and generally correct opinions, which they contain. The truth he was striving to bring out from the time of his philosophical articles in the *Christian Examiner* and in the *Boston Quarterly Review*, was the same as that which he now set forth with a clearer understanding and more accurate expression. It is hardly fair to hold him responsible for every expression in the earlier articles unless it is necessarily implied by the doctrine he was advocating. The objections which some have brought to his later philosophical writings appear to have arisen from the erroneous system of the critics, or else from misapprehension of the doctrine criticised.

Like most New-England ministers, Brownson had been very lean in his Protestant days; but soon after he became a Catholic, he began to put on flesh, till his weight increased to two hundred and fifty pounds. One day as he was walking towards his publisher's on Washington street, with one of his sons, he met two Reverend Doctors of Divinity, Salter and Woods, who were both as lean as Brownson had ever been. They turned and walked with him. One of them said: "How is it, Brother Brownson, that you, who used to be as lean as we are, have grown so big? Tell us the secret."

"It is very simple," he answered, "all you have to do is to become Catholics, go to confession and get your sins off your conscience, and you will grow fat and laugh."

As Brownson increased in weight, his bodily activity decreased, and he walked less than formerly. But his muscular strength seemed as great as ever. One day a man named Hoover, from Charleston, S. C.,

was abusing Brownson to his publisher, the Rev. Benjamin H. Greene, as Brownson entered the book-store. Greene said, "there is Mr. Brownson now, talk to him." Hoover thereupon turned to Brownson and violently abused him for becoming a Catholic. Brownson interrupted him, saying, "Another word, and I will throw you over that stove-pipe." As the man defiantly went on, Brownson took hold of his coat-collar with one hand and the seat of his trousers with the other, and pitched him over the pipe, which ran from a stove in the front part of the shop to the wall in the rear.

Hoover commenced an action for assault and battery against Brownson; but it never came to trial, because the Masonic lodge to which Hoover had gained entrance by false representations, sent inquiries to Charleston concerning him; and learning that he had never been a Mason, but had been expelled from the Odd-Fellows there, gave Hoover to understand that it would be advisable for him to leave Boston without delay. The verb, to *hooverize*, was added to the language on this occasion, though it has long since died out.

In 1854, during the bishop's absence in Europe, the Reverend John T. Roddan had been designated by him as his substitute censor of Brownson's articles; and as he was often at Brownson's house, the articles were read to him there. On Fitzpatrick's return it was more irksome to the writer to take his manuscript to Boston, especially as there was no urgent reason for doing so. The Reviewer probably knew the theology applicable to the subjects he was discussing as well as

the bishop, and the nature of the questions to be mooted and the proper way of treating them, a great deal better. The comments of the press on his announcement that he submitted his writings to ecclesiastical censorship convinced him that those who accused him of arrogance and wilfulness were not to be placated by any proof of this submission. From the beginning of the Review for the year 1855, Brownson, therefore, published what seemed good to him without asking any one's leave.

At the same time that he withdrew his publications from censorship, Brownson began to think of withdrawing altogether from Boston. He was never known to express any surprise or regret that Fitzpatrick made no attempt to sustain him either openly or, so far as he knew, in private intercourse with other bishops, after getting him into difficulties by desiring him to bring out unpopular and unpalatable doctrines, though some members of the family blamed the bishop for his inactivity in this regard. The bishop, too, may have thought it best to leave the Reviewer to his own defence, and besides, it is well known that the bishop was extremely indolent by reason of a physical infirmity from which he was suffering. At any rate, Brownson was chiefly influenced in leaving Boston by the consideration that in New York he would be more free to advocate his old constitutional doctrines, and nearer the friends on whom he had mainly to rely. Many of the best known literary men of Boston had before this time left Boston for New York ; in fact, nearly all except the members of the " Mutual Admiration Society," so well represented, a few years later, in their organ, the

Atlantic Monthly. New York, the commercial metropolis of the country, was becoming the more fit home of those who wrote for a serious purpose, and not merely for the sake of authorship; for those who had something to say to the whole country, and not only to a small, self-constituted, literary oligarchy.

When Brownson first mentioned to his friends in New York his proposed change of residence, they all expressed their satisfaction, except Hecker, who made objections to the plan. But he came around in a few months and was as favorable to the change as Cummings, Manahan, and others who had advocated it from the first. It was intended to ask the Archbishop's formal consent to the publication of the Review in New York, but this became unnecessary after receiving a letter from Hecker, dated October 1st, 1855, in which he wrote: "This afternoon I called on the Archbishop. In the course of conversation he mentioned that he had heard that it was your desire to come to New York. I told him it was, with his approbation. He replied that he 'would be quite pleased at your coming, and that if I wrote to you I should tell you so.' These were his words."

The Boston publisher was much grieved at hearing of the plan, and he wrote the following note suggesting its abandonment.

BOSTON, September 14th, 1855.

DEAR SIR:—After you left yesterday, it occurred to me that it *might be possible* to yet retain the Review in its birth-place. Why should it go to New York? I suppose from my experience of its existence and fortunes, that it need not be transplanted in order to

keep it alive and healthy, for it is already so. Could we not make an arrangement, by which I could pay a certain sum to remunerate you for your editorial labors which might be based on the present state and future prospects of the Review? I merely make this interrogatory for the present, so if there is any prospect left of its being retained here, arrangements might be made that would be satisfactory to both parties. Why not think of it before such an entire change is made?

You will excuse the suggestions here made, which between you and myself are of course confidential, and as usual in good faith and kind feelings.

Very truly yours,

B. H. GREENE,

Present Publisher of B. Q. R.

The mutual relations of Brownson and Greene had begun when both were Unitarian preachers; were drawn closer when one published the Boston Quarterly Review which the other edited; and suffered no change when the Review became Catholic. Indeed, some years after this event, the publisher pretended to look for a reward in the life to come for his services in publishing a Catholic Review, and asked Brownson if he did not agree with him. "Yes," the other replied, "I believe you will have your reward, and once in a million years will be permitted to rest your foot for the millionth part of a second on the coolest spot in Satan's dominions."

Greene took a word of nine different letters with which he marked in the books he kept for sale what each had cost. Buying many books of him, Brownson after a while learned what this word was. One day

Brownson wanted to purchase a book which he said Greene was asking too much for. Greene assured him that it cost a sum which he named; and when Brownson expressed his want of belief in the statement, asserted on his honor that it was true. Brownson thereupon, pointing to his private mark, told him what it had cost. Greene no doubt believed that prevarications of this sort were justified by the custom of trade; for there is no doubt that he was entirely honest in his accounts with the Review. He received all money coming in for it, paid all the bills, and always had the balance in bank and paid over to Brownson on the spot whatever sums he asked for; and when the final separation took place, Brownson accepted his statement without a thought of questioning or investigating it. To inspire such confidence, and to retain it through so many years and so many transactions ought not to be so unusual as to call for special praise; but such was Brownson's later experience that it deserves particular mention.*

Of Brownson's friends and acquaintances in Chelsea, very few remain now living. Yet the manner in which he was remembered may, to some extent, be inferred from the following letter to the present writer from the Reverend Doctor Leonard.

TUFT'S COLLEGE, COLLEGE HILL, MASS.,
Jan. 30, '90.

MY DEAR MR. BROWNSON:—I wish I could help you in your good work, but my acquaintance with your

* At one time, in New York, the late Lawrence Kehoe, as clerk in the office of Brownson's publishers, had charge of the affairs of the Review, and deserves the highest praise for perfect honesty, and for zeal and devotion in regard to them.

father was very slight. I was young when he lived in Chelsea—too young every way to come in the range of such a man. Dr. Langworthy and Rev. Samuel Robbins knew him well. Both of these men (who might have given you help) are dead.

I can only tell you how awed I used to be by the "man of power," as some of us used to call him, and how I longed to know him.

One thing I may tell you—one of those slight things that show a man, and a man's faith in things. He was the centre of little gatherings on the ferry-boats in the early days when the ferry-boats were the only means of conveyance to and from Boston. Dr. Brownson was full of the motive of the Catholic faith, and loved to talk of it to the persons—twenty or more—who were sure to gather about him of a summer morning on the deck of the Ferry-boat. On one occasion of this sort I heard him. His subject was the work of missions by *the church*. The special matter for that morning was the mission of the church among the Indians. He knew the facts. He told of the sacrifices, the denials taken up, &c., on the part of the missionaries. His plea, if I may call it that, for the *naturalness* of the instruments which the church uses in such missions; the way she approaches the ignorant through a sensuous imagination; the care she takes of her children; the ample provision for *all* their needs; and her persistence in progressive Christian education. I remember the array (for he had the data) in results of all the grand work. I remember, too, the logic of his talk; for I think he never lost sight of the consecutive sequence of things; nor the *cause* when he had faith-

fully presented effects, as he did in this case. We were made to see and feel that such great and good results came from what is great and good in itself.

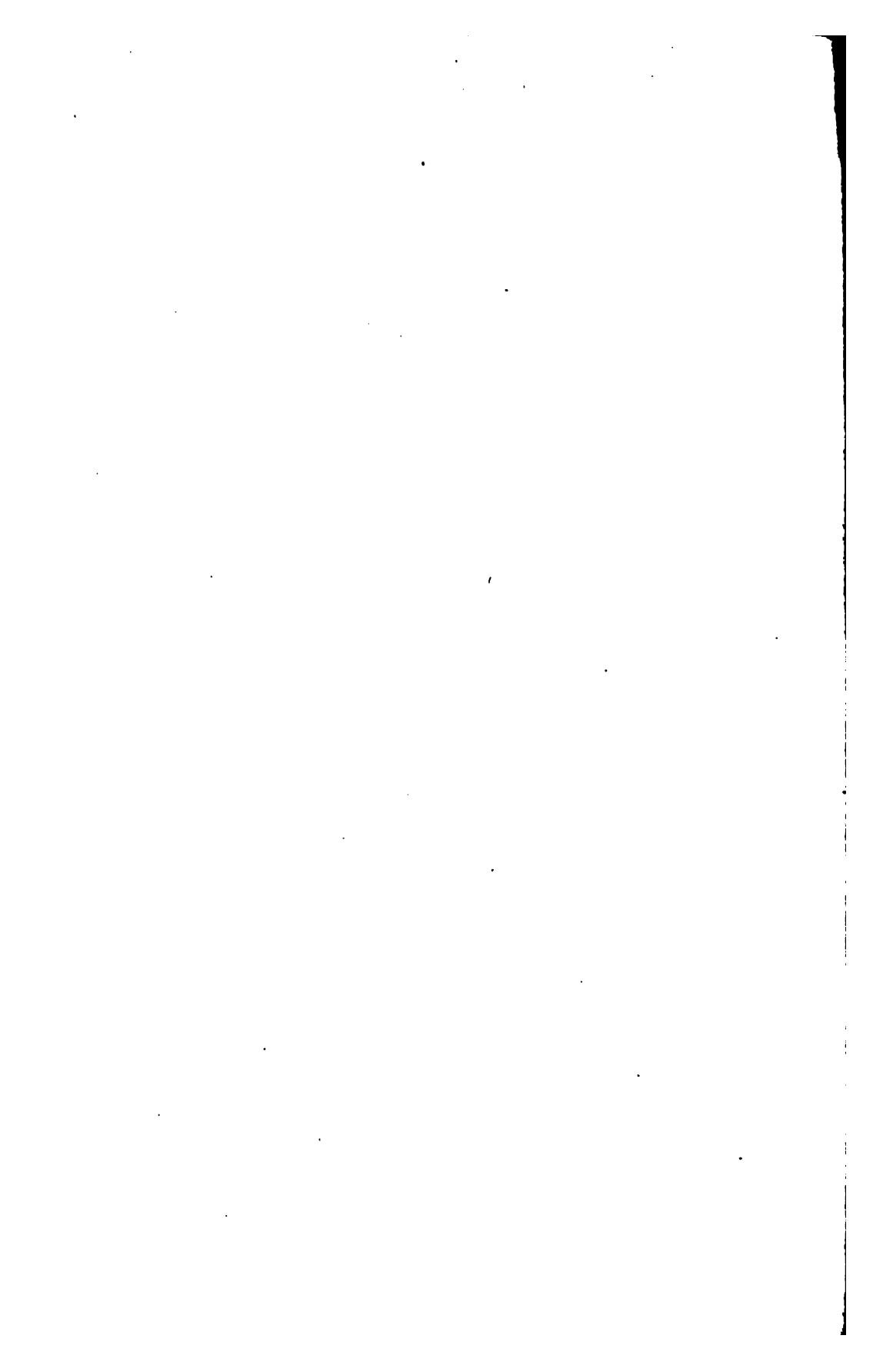
I recall a short talk to a few persons in one of the stores (shops) of Chelsea. It was on what I should call the *mental* rest which the Roman Ch. promises and really gives. Matthew Hale Smith was then preaching in Chelsea for Dr. Langworthy, who was in Europe. Mr. Smith, I think, had said some things in his (superficial) way about the Catholic Church. Some words about this by the shopman to your father were the occasion of the little talk which your father gave. Mr. Smith, you know, had travelled in a circle—if indeed he could be said to have done anything from the side of thought. Dr. Brownson took the little man up and snapped him from his thumb. Then he quietly talked of the “real rest” to mind and heart which the church gives—not the rest of “passivity but of activity.” “She does not stultify them,” he *roared* out as he hurried from the shop to speak to a friend and neighbor.

You see I have to speak of simple things. I wish I could have got at and into the great man. I loved to read after him. He was always stimulating to me even when I could not believe. His style was so *strong*—grand idiomatic English—as pure as J. H. Newman’s, with more imagination, perhaps.

I respect the loving offices of a son who wants to set in order the events in the life of such a father; and I sincerely regret that I am so poor a helper.

Hastily, but faithfully,

C. H. LEONARD.



INDEX.

- Abolitionism, 282, 289.
Acton, John D., Letter from, 471.
Allegiance, civil and spiritual, 599.
Allen, George, 170.
Allen, Joseph H., 91; Letter to, 92.
American Review, The, 81, 199.
American Revolt, The, 327.
Americans, Native and foreign born, 113.
Ami de la Religion, L', 415, 450.
Andover, 97.
Archer, William S., 108.
Arians, 27.
Augustine St., On the Soul and Body of the Church, 103.
Austria, 321, 322, 338.
Ave Maria, The, 78.

Bailey, James R., 184; Letter from, 79.
Baillargeon, C. F., 511, 604.
Bakewell, R. A., 438; Letters from, 439, 515.
Balmes, Jaime, 410; *Protestantism and Catholicity*, 220, 221.
Baltimore, 350.
Bancroft, George, 254.
Banks, Nathaniel P., 551.
Bellarmine, Robert, 409.
Bellinger, John, Letter from, 18.
Bishops of the United States, Letter from, 116.
Bonneyt, Augustin, 450.
Boston, Want of a Catholic Library, 149; literary oligarchy, 637.
Botta, Vincenzo and wife, 609.
Boulanger, C. Letter from, 122.
Boyce, John, 527; *Shandy McGuire*, 151; Letter from, 152.
Brownson, Orestes A., continues his Review after his conversion, 1; His Knowledge of Catholicity when converted, 2; forced by his Bishop to repeat old arguments, 4; His Doctrine of Life, 7; is put in a false position by his Bishop, 8; His fairness in argument, 10; takes a high tone in controversy, 11; is accused of going too far, *ib.*; why he was prevented from setting forth the Faith in its unity, 27; compared with Wiseman, 28; opposes Newman's Theory, 34; His tone towards Protestants, 91; Letter to Allen, 92; to Brigdon, 94; to a woman seeking Faith, 95; to his son, 158; to *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, 492; to *Dublin Tablet*, 386; to Ward, 53; to O'Connor, 489, 593; to the *Catholic Telegraph*, 503; to Cummings, 130, 134, 186, 192, 214, 220; to Hall and others, 555; to McMaster, 449; to Montalembert, 326, 335, 613, 621; to Newman, 482; to Nevin, 373; to Hughes, 521; His relations with his Boston Publisher, 638; is offered the Freeman's Journal, 79; withdraws from censorship of his writings, 636; instrumental in conversions, 96; asserts his faith in public, 97; submits his writings to censorship, 98; Essay on *The Great Question*, 102; conversation with a Puritan, 105; defends the Jesuits, 124; criticises the Catholic Press, 155; pecuniary losses, 193, 238; returns to metaphysical studies, 215; on the Democracy of Christianity, 224; His relations with converted Puseyites, 376; His invitation to the Irish University, 469, 478; determines to move from Boston to New York, 637.
Brownson, Orestes A., Jr., 157, 163, 164.
Bushnell, Horace, *Discourses*, 14.

Cahill, Dr. 441.
Calderon de la Barca, A., Letters from, 299, 303.
Calderon de la Barca, Mrs., Letter from, 311.
Cardenas, 297, 312.
Catholic Institute of Canada, 353.
Catholic Mirror, The, on Brownson, 539; Letter to, 534.
Catholic Press, The, 155.
Catholic Relief Bill, The, 172.
Catholic Telegraph, The, 157, 167, 509, 510, 560; Letter to, 503.
Catholics, Their timidity, 97; their liberalism, 98.
Chandler, Joseph R., 517, 551.
Channing, William H., 208.
Chiniquy, C., Letter from, 268.
Christianity, not subjective, 366.
Church, The, no salvation out of, 102; soul and body of, 103; when it began, 158; fosters art, 263; opposes despotism, 347.
Church Question, The, 9.

- Church against No-Church, The, 13.
 Civil Law, 437.
Civiltà Cattolica, La, 403:
 Clarke, Richard H., Letter from, 516.
 Clerk, George E., Letters from, 233, 236.
 Cognat, Abbé, 415.
 Common Law, 243, 430, 435, 437.
 Constitution, Letter on amending Massachusetts, 455.
 Controversy, Apologetic, 10; questions that can enter, 7; Brownson's fairness, 10.
 Cooper James F., 258.
 Corruption, begins with clergy, 180.
 Cortés, J. Donoso, 229, 326, 405, 410.
 Crimean War, 622.
 Crittenden, Col., 299.
 Cuba, Expeditions against, 297.
 Cummings, J. W., 214, 220, Letters to, 130, 134, 186, 192, 214, 220; Letters from, 126, 132, 187, 189, 218, 611; Lecture by, 196.
 Dana, Richard H., 249.
 Davis, William J., 96.
 De La Tour, G., 325, 326, 339; Letter from, 329.
 Democracy 153, 345.
 Derby, Earl H., *Letters to a Kinsman*, 15.
 De Smet, P. J., 515; Letters from, 259, 512.
 Development, 58, 71, 77, 386, 561; Newman's theory, 59; Brownson's, 60.
 Donelan, James, 190.
 Donahoe, Patrick, 266, 441.
 Dupanloup, Félix A. P., 333, 337.
 Ebionites, 26.
 Education, secular and regular teachers, 182; Catholic, 201; French Law on, 228; Paganism in, 415.
 Emerson, Ralph W., 252, 442.
 England, John, Works of, 136, 237.
 Eulalia, Sister, 97.
 Eutychians, 27.
 Evangelicalism, 543.
 Faith, Disregard of by English and Irish Catholics, 362; to be sought by prayer, 95.
 Falloux, Frédéric A. P. de, 333, 337.
 Fenwick, Benedict J., 121.
 Fillmore, Millard, 308, 418.
 Fitzpatrick, John B., 357, 415, 416, 620; urges Brownson to continue his Review, 3; teaches him theology, 4; forces him to keep to the old arguments, 5; puts him in a false position, 8; failure to sustain Brownson, 636.
 Forbes, John M., 157.
 Forrest, Edwin, 140.
 Fourierism, 131, 143, 192.
 Francis de Sales, St., 101.
 Freeman's Journal, 79, 83, 127, 183, 405, 533, 539; offered to Brownson, 79; sold to McMaster, 80.
 Free-Soilism, 289.
 French Republic, 315, 323, 359.
 Fullerton, Georgiana, 264.
 Fullerton, James, 239.
 Gadwel, Abbé, 416.
 Gallicanism, 217, 224.
 Garesché Alexander J. P., *Letters from*, 341, 443.
 Garland, Hugh A., 348, 443, 525.
 Gartland, F. X., Letter from, 238.
 Gaume, Abbé, 415.
 Geography, 470.
 George, Anita, Letter from, 298.
 Gioberti, Vincenzo, 215, 223, 237, 319.
 Glover, T., 64; Letter to Shaw, 68.
 Governments, 316.
Grantley Manor, 264.
 Greene, Benjamin H., 638; Letter from, 637.
 Greene, William B., Letter from, 209.
 Hall, T. Randolph, and others, Letter from, 553; Reply to, 555.
 Haskins, George F., Letter from, 139.
 Havana, Outrages at, 300, 307.
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 256.
 Healy, John P., 468; Letter to, 455.
 Hecker, Isaac T., 276; Letters from, 271, 273, 561; 637.
 Henri V, 323, 337, 431.
Herald, The Catholic, 115, 237.
 Hewit, Augustine F., 213 n.
 Hilton, George H., Letter to, 567.
 Hogan, William, 107.
 Hopkins, John H., *The British Reformation*, 12.
 Hughes, John, 77, 87, 173, 183, 436, 521, 604, 637; Letter to, 521; Letter from, 522.
 Hungarian Revolt, 321.
 Huntington, J. V., 398, 414, 487, 597; His books, 402; on rights and duties, 405; Letter from, 398; Letters to, 598, 601.
 Immaculate Conception, Bull defining it, 391, 561.
 Incarnation, The, 26.

- Indians, 259, 260.
 Intervention, 293.
 Intuition, 213, 216.
 Irish, The, 142, 530; The Catholic, 107, 112; their press, 119.
 Jesuits, 121, 124, 180, 182.
 Journalism, 155.
 Keegan, M. R., Letter from, 563.
 Kenrick, Francis P., 215, 604; Primacy of the A, See, 12, 132, 136; *The Four Gospels*, 184, 237; *Vindication of the Catholic Church*, 506; Letters from, 114, 170, 184, 350.
 Kenrick, Peter R., 440, 515, 604; Letters from, 340, 343.
 Know-Nothings, Mass. State Council, 542; Reply to, 543.
 Kossuth, Louis, 418.
 Lacordaire, H. D., 225, 228.
Lady Alice, 398, 402.
 La Mennais, F. de, 224.
 La Rocque, A., 232, 234.
 Law, Civil, 437; Common, 243, 430, 435, 437; of nations, 305.
 Leach, George, 66.
 Leonard, C. H., Letter from, 639.
 Leroux, Pierre, 211.
 Liberalism, 224, 228, 291, 346.
 Liberty, 347; Civil and religious, 485, 547; reconciliation with authority, 303.
 Libraries, 149.
 Linton, William, Letter from, 525.
 Lopez, Narciso, 297, 313.
 Loretto, Pa., Mission, 273.
 Lowell, James R., 250.
 Lying, 181.
 Lynch, Anne Charlotte, 609.
 Lynch, Patrick N., Controversy with Thornwell, 15; Letter from, 19.
 McCaffrey, John, Letters from, 140, 172, 178, 352.
 McClintock, John, 551.
 McCloskey, John, Letters from, 35, 128, 129.
 McMaster, James A., 83, 127, 183, 186, 199, 223, 445, 449, 533; Letter to, 449; Letters from, 71, 76, 80, 83, 86, 185, 200.
 McSherry, James, *History of Maryland*, 175.
Magazine, The U. S. Catholic, 78, 90.
 Maguire, Bernard A., 517.
 Maistre, Joseph de, and Newman, 49.
 Major, Henry, 115, 156, 184, 237, 516.
 Malou, J. B., 512.
 Marriage of Protestants, 235, 236.
 Martinet, Abbé, *Solution de grands Problèmes*, 218, 220.
 Mary, Catholic devotion to B. V., 373.
 Massachusetts, Letter on Constitutional amendment, 455.
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 419.
 Meagher, Thomas F., 440, 526.
 Meline, James F., Letter from, 521.
Mercersburg Review, 362.
 Method of Studying the Fathers, 392.
Metropolitan Magazine, 487, 516, 525.
 Miège, J. B., 515.
 Miles, George H., 140, 178, 215, 267; Letters from, 146, 350, 520.
 Mitchel, John, 548; Letter to Brownson, *ibid.*
 Mobile, Outrages at, 303.
 Moehler, Johann A., *Symbolism*, 220, 221.
 Montalembert, Charles de, 225; Letters from, 226, 227, 318, 430; Letters to, 326, 335, 613, 621.
 Montreal, 232, 235, 357.
 Morals, 144, 180, 257.
 Morris, John B., 375.
 Mudd, J., Letter from, 560.
 Murphy, W. S.; Letter from, 513.
 Napoleon I, 428.
 Napoleon III, 323, 337, 359, 424, 439, 444, 616; in regard to the Orleans estates, 433.
 Native-Americans, 107, 528.
 Nestorians, 27.
 Nevin, J. W., 362, 393; Letter from, 369; Letter to, 373.
 Newman, John H., 34, 440, 561; on developments, 53, 59, 68, 71, 77, 360, 386; N. and Maistre, 49; denies objective certainty, 385; Letters from, 469, 479, 481, 484; Letter to 482.
 New Orleans, 608; Outrages at, 300.
Niebelungenlied, 266.
 Novels, Religious, 262.
 Obedience, 179.
 O'Brien, Nicholas J., 136, 197.
Observer, The Catholic, 136, 193, 197.
 O'Callaghan, Jeremiah, 356.
 O'Connell, Daniel, 173.
 O'Connor, Michael, 485, 490, 561, 604; Letters from, 38, 434; Letters to, 489, 593.
 Ontologism, 212.
 Orders, The spiritual and temporal, 224, 336, 485, 541.
 O'Reilly, Devin, 192.
 Orleanists, 324.

- Parisis, Pierre L., 229.
 Parker, Theodore, 288.
 Parkman, Francis, 259.
 Philanthropists, 282, 345.
 Philosophy, Principles of, 216, 624; results of defective, 219.
Pilot, The, 560.
Pittsburgh Catholic, on Brownson, 498; Letter to, 492.
 Pius IX, Letter from, 621.
 Poland, 322.
 Pope, Authority of, 110.
 Preston, Thomas S., Letter from, 514.
 Principles of Philosophy, 216, 624.
 Protestantism, defined, 92; it lacks unity, 24; is unintelligible save in Catholicity, 25; lacks theological science, 6; its want of principles, 21; the least reputable sects the strongest, 6; its death, 221.
 Psychologism, 212, 367.
 Purcell, Edward, 604.
 Purcell, John B., 157, 501, 604; Letters from, 163, 164, 167, 610.
 Puritans, 180, 293.
 Puseyites, 377.
 Quebec, 232.
Reformation, The British, 12.
 Rights and Duties, 405.
 Ripley, George, 96.
 Ripley, Mrs. George, 96.
 Roddan, John T., 267, 326, 441; Letter from, 148.
 Rosecrans, Sylvester H., 509, 510; Letter from, 509.
 Rosmini, Antonio, 219, 222.
 Rouquette, Adrien, Letter from, 566.
 Sadlier, James, Letters from, 231, 234, 354.
 Sadlier, Mrs. James, 267.
 St. Bonnet, Blanc, 325, 329.
 St. Louis, Mo., 340, 525.
 Salvation, not possible out of the church, 102.
 Schaff, Philip, 362, 393; Letter from, 361.
 Scholastics, Arguments of, 5.
 Semmes, Thomas J., Letter from, 608.
 Seward, William H., 283.
Shandy McGuire, 152.
 Shaw, J. C., 63; Letter from, 64; Glover's letter to, 68.
 Simpson, Richard, Letter to Hecker, 395.
- Slavery, 205, 280, 328.
 Smith, Mathew Hale, 641.
 Socialism, 144, 175, 207, 225, 226.
 South, Reconstruction of the, 607; Society of, *ibid.*
 Spalding, Martin J., Letter from, 523.
Spirit-Keeper, The, 526.
 Suarez, Francisco, 408.
 Sumner, Henry, Letter from, 16.
Tablet, The, Letter to, 386.
 Taschereau, Elzear A., 232.
Telegraph, the Catholic, 157, 167, 509, 510, 560; Letter to, 503.
 Temperance, 267.
 Thébaud, Aug. J., Letter from, 125.
 Theology, Discussion of, before the masses, 5.
 Thomas of Aquin, 408.
 Thornwell, James H., *Arguments of Romanists*, 15, 20.
 Timon, John, 183.
 Tractarians, 29, 368.
 Tradition, 160, 161.
True Witness, The, 233, 235.
 Tucker, N. A., Letter from, 355.
 United States, Principle and Destiny of, 109.
Univers, L', 415, 431, 433, 438, 446, 449, 450, 618.
 Vatican Council, on Development, 397.
 Ventura de Raulica, 319.
 Veuillot, Louis, 326, 415, 447.
 Vincent's Manual, St., 178, 230.
 War, The Crimean, 622.
 Ward, William G., Letter from, 41; Reply to, 53.
 Webster, Daniel, 108, 304, 307, 308, 419; his policy, 240; his Hülsemann letter, 241, 292, 328; Speech on Clay's Resolution, 242; on the common law, 243; his literary style, 245; as an orator, 247.
 Weninger, F. X., Correspondence with, 572.
 Whipple, James D., Letters from, 199, 202, 204, 205.
 White, Charles I., 487; Letter from, 448.
 Wiseman, Nicholas, 390; contrasted with Brownson, 28; his wisdom and address, 30.

ERRATA.

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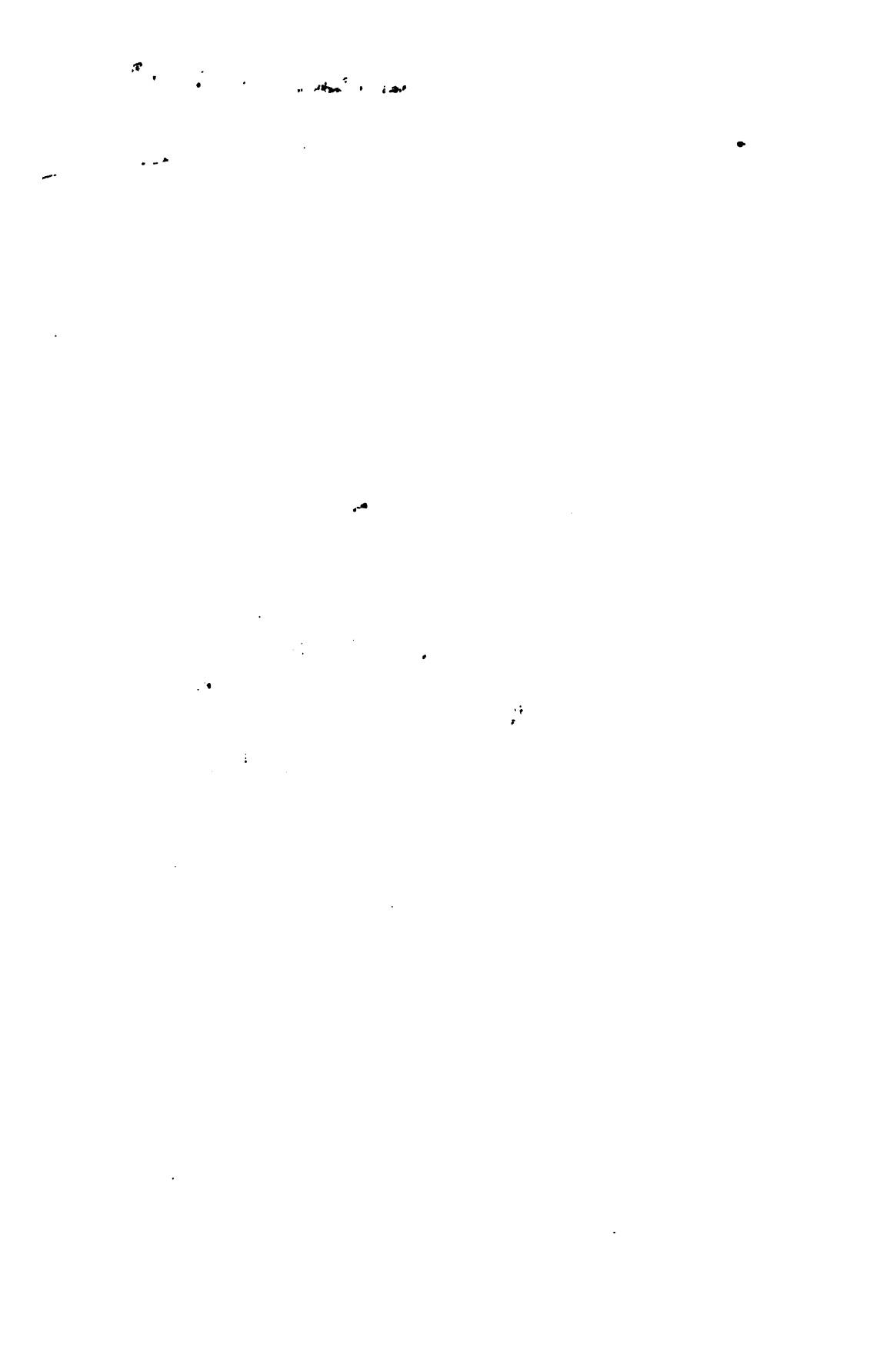
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